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District by district analysis

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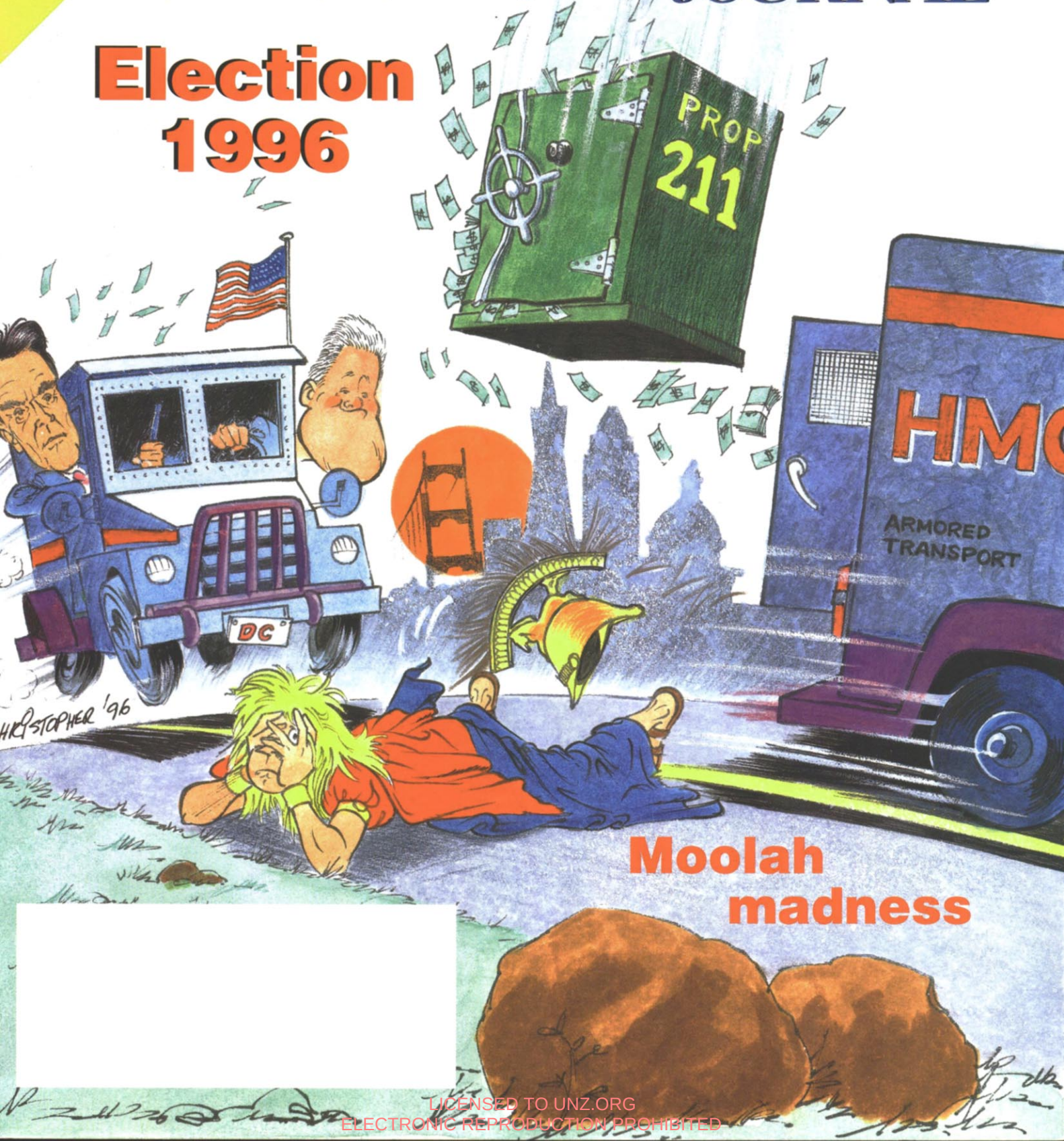
California JOURNAL

Independent analysis of politics and government

Election 1996



Moolah madness

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DECEMBER 1996
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Election '96

Money. It was an election about money. From the top of the ticket, where President Bill Clinton and his Republican challenger, former U.S. Senator Bob Dole, pumped millions into California, to congressional and legislative races fueled by massive campaign treasuries, to a plethora of ballot measures that included a record $40 million or more spent to defeat just one initiative, Election '96 was awash in money. And the result? Voters stayed away from the polls in record numbers.

In contests themselves, Republican Bob Dole chose to fight his main battle for the presidency in California. The decision was a little akin to Colonel Travis' decision to defend the Alamo. Bolstered by an improving economy, President Bill Clinton roared to victory here, there and everywhere. In legislative and congressional races, Republicans lost three seats in the House delegation, fell even further behind in their bid to control the state Senate and — most significant — lost the Assembly. The GOP especially did poorly in so-called "cluster races," those where contests for all three venues overlapped.

Finally, the foes of Proposition 211 set a standard for overkill which may be hard to match. They raised a record $40 million to defeat an initiative which would have made it easier for stockholders to sue corporations and corporate officers and directors. The money bought a landslide. Meanwhile, voters shot down a jail bond, approved the use of marijuana for medical treatments, okayed a campaign-finance measure, declined to regulate health-related businesses, decided not to raise taxes on the wealthiest Californians and made it more difficult for local jurisdictions to raise fees and taxes.

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Congress

Three Republican incumbents bit the dust in this election, while the GOP's number-one target survived. The 52-strong delegation now favors Democrats 29-23.

24

State Senate

Democrats increased their margin by at least one seat, depending upon the final count of absentee ballots.

29

Assembly

The Republicans' hold on the lower house turned out to be oh, so brief as Democrats recaptured control of the Assembly. A combination of low voter turnout, gun issues and increased participation by Latino voters in key districts turned the tide.

FEATURES/COVER

Up Front 4

Cover Illustration by Christopher

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Upfront
umbrage

Yosemite Bob. The scene always is the same. Yosemite Sam has Bugs Bunny cornered, so he carefully aims his shotgun at his prey only to have Bugs suddenly perform some miracle that turns the barrels back on Sam. And so it was with Bob Dole in California. The GOP presidential hopeful turned his full attention to blasting away President Bill Clinton in California. The GOP spent a gazillion bucks on TV ads, and the candidate exhausted himself stumping all over the state. The result, according to polls: Clinton's lead over Dole expanded from 10 percent to 18 percent, eventually settling in for a final margin of 13.5 percent.

Eastin watch. Rumors swirl that a squabble between the state Department of Education and the Compton Unified School District has poisoned relations between some minority groups and Superintendent of Public Instruction Delaine Eastin. The Compton district, which is heavily African-American and Latino, currently is in receivership and being run by Eastin's department, but local activists want to regain control and think they've jumped through all the necessary hoops. They also claim the department is stonewalling them. The department obviously has a different view. The upshot of all this is political. Some African-American and Latino groups are considering trying to recruit an opponent for Eastin when she faces re-election in 1998. Name most often mentioned: Democratic Party Chairman Art Torres.

Hooray for Hollywood. The Hollywood crowd released a scorecard on the Legislature last month, highlighting those lawmakers most friendly (and unfriendly) to the film and entertainment industry. You'd think ole Mr. Hollywood himself — Senator Tom Hayden (D-Los Angeles) — would have been right up there with the 100-percenters. Nope. Hayden managed only a 60 percent score — next to last in the Senate. Among the 26 senators with perfect scores were the likes of Richard Mountjoy (R-Arcadia), Dick Monteith (R-Fresno), Newt Russell (R-Glendale) and Rob Hurtt (R-Garden Grove). Remember, the scorecard was issued by the business side of Hollywood, not the artistic side. Hayden broke with the alliance on two bills — SB 623 dealing with penalties for cable theft and SB 836 dealing with rideshare requirements.

S'long, Mickey. Former Assemblyman Mickey Conroy (R-Orange) found himself on the short end of last Tuesday's election for the Orange County Board of Supervisors. Conroy lost a nasty campaign to **Tod Spitzer** by some 25,000 votes. Spitzer will represent a district that includes Brea, Fullerton, La Habra and Mission Viejo. The campaign was marred by controversy and bad feelings. At one point, Conroy flipped off his opponent at a rally, claiming that Spitzer was calling too much attention to a sexual-harassment lawsuit filed against Conroy by a former legislative staffer.

Color it Green. Arcata, a city of some 15,000 located in Humboldt County, is the first city in the U.S. to elect a majority of Green Party candidates to its city council. The five-member council now has three Greens and a pair of Democrats. According to a press release, three of the councilmembers also do not own cars.

The ballot from hell. Folks in Sacramento — and perhaps elsewhere — who voted last week on the various propositions found themselves having to pay careful attention to the ballot itself. To vote "yes" on Proposition 209, for instance, the voter had to punch "210" on the ballot. To vote "no" on the same measure, the voter had to punch "211." Not to be confused with Proposition 211, where "yes" and "no" meant

The day after. Senate pro Tem Bill Lockyer (L) has a few post-election words of ... encouragement? ... for Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle in a Capitol hallway.

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

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punching "219" or "220." And so it went.

Fallout. There is no scientific evidence of a direct link between Proposition 187 and increased Latino voter registration and citizenship, but the anecdotal evidence is mounting. A recent report indicated that Latino voter registration is up 28 percent nationwide over 1994, and 44 percent in California. More than 600,000 Latinos have added their names to voter rolls, and four out of five of them are registering Democratic. According to several Democratic activists, their poster boy when registering Latinos is none other than Governor Pete Wilson, who has raised immigrant-bashing to an art form.

Cookbook ideas. The Democracy Center of San Francisco has published "The Initiative Cookbook, recipes and stories from California's Ballot Wars." It is written by initiative-war veteran Jim Shultz. Schultz interviewed more than 36 activists and reporters who have directed or reported on initiative campaigns over the past 20 years, detailing how the system has come to be "controlled by money and political manipulation." The Center is affiliated with the Washington, D.C.-based Advocacy Institute. Schultz once served as a lobbyist for Common Cause and for the Consumers Union. The book is available from the Center, 1535 Mission Street, San Francisco 94103.

Hardball question of the month: "Are you under the influence of any drugs or medication that would affect your testimony today?" The poser came not from one of the presidential debaters but from Robert J. Corry, counsel to an Assembly Budget subcommittee hearing on race and gender preferences. And it was not asked to a student, or to a rock star, or to a novelist. It was asked to, among others, Brenda Wilson, president of CSU-Northridge, and California State University President Barry Munitz. Wilson, who is Black, later told the *Los Angeles Times* that the hearing was "strange." More than strange. Witnesses also were placed under oath, implying that oaths are necessary to get at the truth. That's code for insinuating that witnesses such as various campus chancellors and community college officials would just as soon lie to the committee about enrollment and employment practices in higher ed. True, university officials have been less than candid over the past months regarding admissions policies, but this treatment seemed a bit harsh and demeaning. Democrats, meanwhile, were outraged, calling the hearings the modern equivalent of those run by the late U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy back in the '50s. Actually, they remind us of those run by Rufus T. Firefly back in the 1930s. For the uneducated, Rufus T. Firefly was the Groucho character in the movie "Duck Soup," starring the Marx Brothers. The legislator who presided over this circus was Assemblyman Bernie Richter (R-Chico), who is about to lose his subcommittee chairmanship thanks to the Democratic takeover of the Assembly. Sounds like it's just in time.

Hardball campaign of the season: GOP congressional hopeful Tim LeFever's attempt to blame his opponent — incumbent Democrat Vic Fazio — for the murder of Polly Klaas. Television ads morphed Fazio into Klaas' murderer Richard Allen Davis, and the Republican hammered at Fazio for voting for the state's indeterminate sentencing law while an assemblyman back in the mid-1970s. It was that law, LeFever argues, that got Davis out of prison against the advice of prison officials. So, Fazio must be responsible for killing Klaas. Although LeFever's tactic has been condemned by, among others, the Klaas family, the candidate never backed off. By the way, the bill that LeFever accuses Fazio of voting for was SB 42, authored by Senator John Nejedly — an Oakland *Republican* and a former district attorney. Another Republican senator in those days was George Deukmejian who, if memory serves, also voted for the bill. The measure was opposed by, among others, the American Civil Liberties Union. So, if we get this right, Fazio was taken to task by LeFever because he voted for a bill sponsored by conservative Republicans and opposed by the left-leaning ACLU. LeFever never returned phone calls to explain.

"If you think this country's bad off now, just wait 'til I get through with it."
— Rufus T. Firefly

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Election

In an election awash in money, all the cash in the world couldn't have saved the California Republican Party from a first-class debacle that included a pasting for its presidential candidate and an end to its brief hold on the state Assembly.

Money.

It was an election awash in money, from the multi-million dollar campaigns of President Bill Clinton and his GOP challenger Bob Dole, to the nearly $40 million spent to defeat the tort-reforming Proposition 211, to the $1.4 million pumped into legislative races by trial lawyers, to the $2 million used to defeat an incumbent congressman from Walnut Creek, to the nearly $1 million lavished on legislative races by Governor Pete Wilson, to the more than $3 million spent in a critical

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1996

state Senate contest in San Diego, to the $40,000 checks dumped into individual state legislative races by the funding arm of the U.S. Senate Democratic caucus. In every corner of California, candidates and campaigns raised and spent so much money that a non-profit organization that tracks campaign contributions — California Voter Foundation — had to limit its reporting to contributions in excess of $10,000. Even efforts on behalf of a pair of initiatives meant to reform campaign finance had to answer embarrassing questions about large chunks of cash flowing into their coffers from the likes of unions and consumer groups.

And for what? Perhaps the most expensive election in California history generated a shamefully low turnout on Election Day — less than 60 percent of registered voters bothered to show up at the polls. It will take two million absentee ballots statewide to bring the total vote near 1992 levels. That low turnout may partially explain why the '96 elections marked a dramatic turnaround for the state's two most prominent political parties.

Two years ago, Republicans stunned the political world with the breadth and depth of their success, both in California and across the nation. A Republican tide swept the GOP into power in both houses of Congress and allowed local Republicans to capture control of the Assembly for the first time in a quarter century. In California, Republicans capitalized on voter anger and desire for change, successfully portraying themselves as the instrument for change. They fueled their efforts in part with a divisive campaign waged around the wedge issue of immigration, as embodied in Proposition 187 (see *CJ*, December 1994). With a campaign designed to segment the population, Republicans skillfully exploited the fears and anger of white voters over the social and economic costs associated with illegal immigrants — with *them*.

Emboldened by that success, Republicans tried to apply the same strategy in 1996, this time rallying around what they believed to be the wedge issue *du jour*, affirmative action, and to re-invoke the successful wedge of 1994, illegal immigration. They even persuaded their presidential standard-bearer, former U.S. Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, to hitch his fortunes to that message. Historically, however, those who fight the last war rather than the current one come to rue that miscalculation. As France discovered during May 1940, using yesterday's assumptions to wage today's war is a receipe for disaster — a lesson that may well have been driven home to the Republican Party this year, for the political landscape was different in 1996 than it had been in 1994 when the GOP enjoyed unexpected electoral success.

First, the electorate for the most part had overcome the grumps, and it did not seem to be in the mood for wholesale change for the sake of change. In addition, affirmative action did not have the visceral impact of illegal immigration as a wedge issue and may have damaged some Republican candidates. Unlike the *them* in illegal immigration, who cannot vote and have little political clout, the target of affirmative action is really *us* — citizens who can vote, including minorities and women. Efforts to curb affirmative action, as embodied in Proposition 209, did not resonate with most voters the way efforts to deal with illegal immigrants had in 1994. More concerned with education, the economy and increasing gun violence, voters rendered their verdict on November 5th.

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Rendered in another sense was the Republican Party.

Depending on final counts of absentee ballots:

- Republicans lost from two to six seats — and their majority — in the Assembly.
- Republicans lost ground in the state Senate.
- Republicans lost three seats in the congressional delegation.
- Republicans were nearly shut out in all so-called "cluster" districts where heated contests for the Assembly, Senate and Congress overlapped.
- And, by the way, the Republican candidate for president was drubbed.

President

lace the two most recent presidential elections — 1992 and 1996 — side by side, and they provide a stunning example of the unpredictable nature of politics. In 1992, then-President George Bush scanned the California landscape along about Labor Day, turned his face to the East and never again set foot west of the Sierras. The departure of his campaign proved a disaster for the Republican Party, which was competing for two seats in the U.S. Senate and for 152 newly reapportioned congressional and legislative districts, many of them competitive for the first time in a decade. Not that Bush himself could have won California had he stayed in, but his campaign would have infused much-needed money into GOP efforts to energize and mobilize the Republican base in the critical weeks leading up to the election. Many Republicans remain convinced that Bush's decision cost the party at least one of those U.S. Senate seats, as well as seats in the Legislature and in Congress. Before the election, Democrats held 26 of the state's 45 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives; after the election, they held 30 of 52. In the Assembly, Democrats added one seat. The gains seem insignificant, unless one also keeps in mind that the post-reapportionment districts of 1992 were far more competitive between the two parties than the gerrymandered, pre-reapportionment districts of 1990, and Republicans had been expected to pick up seats across the board.

Telescope forward to 1996. With the lessons of 1992 seared into their memories, Republicans made themselves independently wealthy, aided by their successes in 1994 which enhanced their fund-raising operations — especially in the Assembly. Thus, they were not beholden to the presidential campaign for money. But legislative and congressional seats still were at stake, and an active and aggressive effort from the top of the ticket was considered essential to help keep the party faithful motivated to vote. Thus, California Republicans, led by Governor Pete Wilson and others, prevailed upon Bob Dole to abandon the rest of the country and to concentrate on California. Further, they convinced him to hone his message on wedge issues.

The result for Republicans was even worse than in 1992.

From the start, the Dole effort in California resembled a vaudeville routine more than a political campaign, complete with a pratfall off a stage in Chico, a hilarious reference to the Los Angeles Dodgers as the "Brooklyn Dodgers," an even more hilarious reference to the California economy being in worse shape in 1996 than it was four years ago when the state was in the throes of an horrendous recession, and a grand swan song in the form of a concession aired more than one hour before polls closed on the West Coast.

In almost every respect, the Dole factor turned out to be poison. In venue after venue all across the country, Republican candidates who had been down in the polls rebounded after Dole disappeared from their baliwick. The reverse seemed to happen in California. The more Dole appeared, the more GOP candidates at every level seemed to sink. In addition, the so-called "race card" failed to resonate with voters — Republican, Democratic or independent. It did not provide Republicans with a compelling reason to go to the polls and may have helped energize those who felt aggrieved by the appeal; namely, minority and ethnic voters and women. And in a final insult to the injury, some exit polls showed that Republican voters who voted for President Bill Clinton tended to stay with Democratic candidates further down the slate.

Dole's presence also reminded voters that he and his Republican colleagues were on the wrong side of an issue that has long formed the bulwark of GOP campaigns — crime. Crime in 1996 had come to be identified with guns — who has them, how they are used and how their proliferation should be controlled. Republicans generally are seen as against gun control, as evidenced by party opposition to the ban on assault weapons and waiting periods for purchase of handguns. Guns were the closest thing to a visceral issue in this election, especially among suburban whites, who in the past have tended to vote in large numbers and vote Republican.

President Bill Clinton, meanwhile, early on recognized the importance of California to his re-election and practically took up residence in the Golden State for four years. He and Vice President Al Gore made many highly visible trips to California to campaign, but also to endear themselves to the state's technology sector and to lobby against closing military bases vital to the region. And even though many of those installations eventually fell to the federal ax, Clinton himself left the impression that he had gone to bat completely for California. This attention, and the fact that the California economy was doing well, helped Clinton build a 22-point lead in polls over the summer — a lead Dole never could slice into single digits despite devoting himself to the Golden State. The trouble was emphasized by local polling in such traditional GOP venues as Orange and San Diego counties, where the Dole campaign never was able to build anything resembling a significant lead.

When the voting was over, Dole had won Orange County, but by little more than 100,000 votes — nowhere near enough to offset the 630,000-vote pasting he took in Los Angeles County. Dole won San Diego County by a mere 5000 votes, meanwhile losing San Francisco County by 150,000, Alameda County by 180,000 and Santa Clara County by 120,000. Reform Party nominee Ross

California
(47% D - 36% R)

Clinton (D)*	**4,640,703**	**(52)**
Dole (R)	3,413,863	(38)
Phillips (AI)	18,936	(.2)
Nader (G)	214,417	(2)
Browne (L)	66,498	(1)
Hagelin (NL)	13,714	(.1)
Feinland (PF)	22,595	(.2)
Perot (RF)	637,716	(7)

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Perot proved no factor at all, gaining but 7 percent of the vote — far below the 21 percent he captured in 1992.

Congress and the Legislature

If November 5th was a day of loss for Republicans in California, the centerpiece was the Assembly, where the GOP's 41-seat majority melted back to as few as 36 seats, depending on what happens in several races where the final outcome depends upon absentees. The Republican at the vortex of this disaster was soon-to-be-dumped Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle (R-Anaheim), although the fault did not lay only in his stars. By contrast, the most satisfied politician of the year did not have an office once the elections ended. Term limits ended the career of Assembly Democratic Leader Richard Katz, but he used his final months to preside over an election effort that saw his party regain control over the lower house.

Going into the election, Pringle seemed to have all the advantages. In an election climate heavily influenced by money, his speakership had enhanced the Republican caucus' fundraising capabilities far beyond any level enjoyed by the GOP in recent years. Moreover, he had successfully cut into Democratic fund raising by convincing many of his natural allies in the business community that they no longer needed to hedge their bets by also giving generously to the other side. He also could call on the considerable resources of the California Independent Business PAC and Governor Pete Wilson.

In addition, Pringle had consolidated caucus power and decision-making in his own hands. Democrats, on the other hand, were in some disarray. Katz was termed out, and it was said that the caucus was rife with infighting as several members jockeyed to replace him. Democrats were so short of money that there was concern whether the caucus would adequately defend vulnerable incumbents, let alone attack GOP strongholds.

But botched campaigns, poor strategic thinking bad luck and a surprisingly focused Democratic effort turned the election on its head.

First, Republicans failed to put away several districts where they enjoyed early leads, including ADs 15, 26, 43, 56 and 78. With three weeks left before the election, Democrats still did not know if they would have the money to compete in their own districts and never dreamed they would have the cash to vie for Republican districts. But as September dissolved into October, tracking polls began to indicate that although many Republican candidates were ahead, their percentage of the vote had remained stagnant for months. The polls also showed that large numbers of voters remained undecided, and this presented opportunities for Democrats — if they could get the cash.

They got the cash. Traditional allies such as the trial lawyers, and new unexpected cash cows such as the party's U.S. Senate campaign organization, began to lavish resources on the Democratic caucus, and on individual Democrats. In addition, many of the districts in question were clustered with hot Senate races where a well-heeled Democratic caucus, led by Senate President pro Tempore Bill Lockyer of Hayward, was spending megabucks to promote its candidates, and Assembly Democrats were able to piggyback on Lockyer's effort. At the same time, Democrats had maintained a focus not readily apparent to outside observers. According to Katz and his election guru — consultant Darry Sragow — the caucus early on identified a top tier of 10 districts and worked hard to fully fund campaigns in those venues — most of which involved protecting Democratic incumbents. But they also prepared a second tier list — a wish list — of districts they planned to fund if the cash became available.

When they money began to flow, Democrats began to fund the second tier — and districts began to move toward their column.

"Pringle's people had never gone through a statewide effort," said Tony Quinn, a GOP consultant and co-author of "The Target Book." "They believed their own propaganda about how well they were doing in September and never anticipated that Democrats would come on strong so late."

But all of the fault for the GOP debacle does not lie with Curt Pringle. Senate Republicans, also charged with waging war in clustered districts, seem to have been beaten in every venue but one — and absentees may yet throw that district (SD 15) to Democrats.

In the end, Republicans lost and lost. Gone were Representatives Andrea Seastrand of Santa Barbara, Bill Baker in the East Bay and Bob Dornan of Garden Grove. Republicans also failed to take out their top congressional target — George Brown Jr. of Colton.

In the Legislature, Republicans lost Senate seats previously held by termed-out incumbents Newt Russell of Glendale and Bob Beverly of Long Beach. They also failed to capture the seat vacated by termed-out incumbents Lucy Killea (I-San Diego). In the Assembly, they lost seats in Glendale, Cerritos, Pasadena, and Santa Cruz and failed to make any inroads in the Central Valley or San Diego, where a trio of GOP-leaning seats remained in the Democratic fold. Although absentees could yet turn around some results, they will not alter the overall result: a Democratic Assembly and an enhanced Democratic majority in the Senate.

— A.G. Block

Propositions

Anyone looking to make the case about how money and political ambition have distorted the initiative process need only look to the 1996 November ballot for a wealth of damning evidence. The 15-issue proposition lineup featured several special-interest standoffs: wealthy lawyers vs. wealthy corporations; labor union vs. labor union; even do-gooder vs. do-gooder.

Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative, proved to be the year's most flammable issue. Backed heavily by Governor Pete Wilson and the state Republican Party, it ostensibly will eliminate any racial, gender or ethnic quota or preference system from state-funded programs. Opponents said it would dismantle all state affirmative action programs, comparing Wilson and other backers to David Duke and the Ku Kux Klan.

From the measure's inception, it had been seen in some circles as a potential GOP-leaning wedge issue, similar to 1994's anti-illegal immigration Proposition 187. But something went badly wrong. Though the measure itself passed easily, it had no visible effect in bolstering the fortunes of Republican candidates. If anything, it

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Propositions

204: Water Bond		
Yes	**5,446,490**	**(63)**
No	3,209,127	(37)
205: Jail Bond		
Yes	3,464,348	(41)
No	**5,046,287**	**(59)**
206: Veterans' Bond		
Yes	**4,523,246**	**(54)**
No	3,902,411	(46)
207: Frivolous lawsuits		
Yes	2,885,352	(34)
No	**5,585,726**	**(66)**
208: Campaign Reform		
Yes	**5,153,907**	**(61)**
No	3,277,510	(39)
209: CCRI		
Yes	**4,732,273**	**(54)**
No	3,986,742	(46)
210: Minimum Wage		
Yes	**5,380,469**	
No	3,343,150	(38)
211: Securities Fraud		
Yes	2,177,419	(26)
No	**6,327,578**	**(74)**
212:Campaign Reform		
Yes	4,095,122	(49)
No	**4,248,888**	**(51)**
213:Uninsured drivers		
Yes	**6,545,456**	**(77)**
No	2,008,707	(23)
214: Health care regulation		
Yes	3,512,684	(42)
No	**4,842,134**	**(58)**
215: Medical marijuana		
Yes	**4,870,822**	**(56)**
No	3,875,899	(44)
216: Health care regulation		
Yes	3,200,347	(39)
No	**5,057,164**	**(61)**
217: Top tax bracket		
Yes	4,139,584	(49)
No	**4,258,617**	**(51)**
218: Property tax limit		
Yes	**4,687,030**	**(56)**
No	3,623,773	(44)

brought out minority and women voters who strongly opposed the measure in record numbers, perhaps providing the slim margin that killed Republicans in toss-up districts around the state.

Although Wilson tried to implement it by executive order, the initiative went directly to court without passing "Go," and it is likely to remain tied up until constitutionality and jurisdictional issues are worked out. Meantime, national Republicans are assessing whether 209's non existent coattails make it worth the effort to repeat its success in other states.

A different kind of "flammable" issue was that of medicinal marijuana use. Proposition 215, which makes it legal to cultivate marijuana for medical use, seemed like another in an occasional series of efforts to decriminalize marijuana, and it earned the attention of the comic strip "Doonesbury." Its authors were successful in casting the measure as a compassionate response to the pain and suffering of patients with AIDS, cancer, and other painful, life-threatening ailments. It won a convincing, and surprising, victory.

Law enforcement officials, especially Attorney General Dan Lungren, joined anti-drug activists in deriding the proposal as the first step toward complete legalization of marijuana. Lungren plans to call a statewide enforcement summit on the proposal, and the federal Drug Enforcement Agency hasn't ruled out prosecuting of medical marijuana use under federal drug laws.

While 209 and 215 may have soaked up most of the news media attention this fall, anyone with a television was probably vastly more familiar with Proposition 211. The securities-fraud initiative, financed largely by shareholder lawsuit king William Lerach, was public enemy number one for corporate California. Businesses large and small in and out of the state literally threw money at 211's opponents — some $40 million at last count, a record for a single initiative. That money bought a steady stream of lawyer-bashing advertisements, many produced by the same firm that put together the "Harry and Louise" commercials which helped sink the Clinton health plan.

Less well-financed, supporters still managed to collect an impressive list of consumer-oriented endorsers, and produced an effective spot with victims of securities fraud. But opponents had all their bases covered, having secured the opposition of both Clinton and Dole.

Even though it appeared the initiative was headed for defeat in the last few weeks, millions continued to pour into the state — so much, in fact, that the campaign committee shifted almost $2 million to the campaign against Proposition 217, which would have reinstituted the 11 percent top income tax bracket. Proposition 217 went down to narrow defeat, a loss credited to an effective late television buy financed by the transfer.

Also benefiting from the No on 211 barrage were opponents of another lawyer-friendly initiative. Proposition 207, which would have limited the ability to restrict contingent fees, was easily defeated. While lawyers were getting hammered, tort reformers got a boost with the approval of Proposition 213. Backed by state Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush, 213 limits the rights of drunk and uninsured drivers to collect pain and suffering in subsequent legal actions, even if they were not at fault in the accident.

Perhaps the most curious spectacle of the 1996 initiative campaigns were two sets of competing initiatives which became mini-Civil Wars, pitting erstwhile allies against each other. The Service Employees International Union squared off against the California Nurse's Association in a duel over regulation of health-care businesses, especially health maintenance organizations. The main difference between Proposition 214, sponsored by SEIU, and Proposition 216, backed by the nurses, was 216's additional taxes. Both contained a variety of other provisions aimed at forcing HMOs to offer a broader range of service.

The Chamber of Commerce-led coalition which sought to defeat seven "job killers" lumped the two measures together in opposition ads. Here again, money talked, as the insurance companies and HMOs sent contributions ranging from $100,000 to $550,000 to the opposition coalition. An SEIU-backed independent expenditure program meanwhile distributed three targeted statewide mailers, lumping 214 with other labor-backed initiatives. In the end, voters found the whole mess too confusing, and turned thumbs down to both.

In many ways, the most bizzare battle of the year involved Propositions 208 and 212, both dealing with campaign finance reform. Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, two veterans of the state's campaign finance wars, were petitioned by the consumer group

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CalPIRG to work on a strict measure similar to those on which the groups had collaborated in other states. When Common Cause's coalition came up with a California-specific plan with less restrictive contribution limits, CalPIRG bolted the coalition and ran its own measure.

The ensuing campaign offered the spectacle of two self-described "good guy" organizations catfighting with the gusto of seasoned partisans. The deciding factor in the race appears to have been the unanimous editorial support for 208, the Common Cause initiative, and opposition to 212, the CalPIRG measure. Another killer was a loophole in 212, unseen until after the measure qualified, which repealed all limits on the size of gifts to legislators—cash or otherwise. While most felt the battle would be over which would pass by a wider margin, voters parsed the measures enough to approve 208 and kill 212. The surviving initiative is expected to face legal challenge, but its backers insist the provisions are court-tested.

Also achieving success this time were the labor-backed Proposition 210, which will raise the state minimum wage to $5.75 by 1998, and Proposition 218, the latest in a series of "sons" of Proposition 13. Prop. 218 is also expected to face court challenge because of its provisions limiting the pool of voters on some special assessments to just property owners. The measure also calls for public votes on every special assessment.

While voters want a say over local spending, they seem to be willing to allow more state spending, as long as it doesn't involve prisons. Bonds to improve the state's water delivery system and provide more benefits to veterans were approved. Voters, however, rejected a $700 million bond to improve youth and adult correctional facilities. Coming on the heels of 1994's Three Strikes initiative, the result leaves the state with lots of new prisoners, and fewer places to put them.

Key

D = Democrat
R = Republican
I = Independent
AI = American Independent
G = Green
L = Libertarian
NL = Natural Law
PF = Peace and Freedom
RF = Reform
* = incumbent

• Winners in boldface. Some results, however, may change due to absentee ballots which remained uncounted as of press time.
• (—%) = percent of the vote, rounded to the nearest whole number (causing some district totals to add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent).
• Much of the demographic information for district analyses was provided by *Campaign Vargames*, an inter-active voter-targeting software developed and marketed by The Campaign Data Center, 1366 San Mateo Avenue, South San Francisco, CA 94080 (1-800-646-8777).

Voter registration numbers provided by the Secretary of State, as of October 1, 1996.

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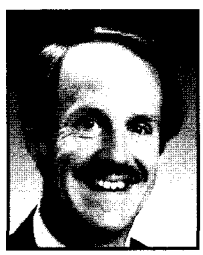
congress

District 1 (49% D - 33% R)

Alioto (D)	86,997	(44)
Riggs (R)*	**96,622**	**(49)**
Rossi (L)	13,701	(7)

Alioto


Riggs

Twenty-eight-year-old Michela Alioto, granddaughter of former San Francisco Mayor Joe Alioto, came out of the gates looking good. She had swept out of nowhere — or Washington, D.C., to be exact, where she had worked on Vice President Al Gore's staff — to move into the district, sink close to $200,000 of her own money into her campaign, and target just the groups of voters she needed to win the primary, beating out the local Democratic establishment choice.This proved her viability as a candidate, but it also underscored her lack of roots in the district, a criticism which later came back to haunt her. Incumbent Frank Riggs was high on the GOP save list from the beginning; the district had toggled back and forth between parties in every election since 1990, and Riggs had already lost as an incumbent here once, in 1992. The district's political infidelity also put Riggs near the top of Democrats' and labor's knock-off list, and Alioto benefited from the early labor television campaign that bit at the heels of so many Republican freshmen. But Alioto's campaign hit a few snags, all of which served to underscore her youth and comparative inexperience in the public eye. A relative and campaign worker was caught intercepting Riggs campaign faxes at a San Francisco television station and sending them Alioto's way. A much-heralded national television appearance on a show highlighting the nation's "most inspiring" women was canceled. Newspapers across the district noted the gaffes, repeatedly pointing out Alioto's lack of experience. And while the Democrat quickly secured the endorsement of national labor, environmental and women's groups, she still had to win the trust of local Democrats who initially saw her as an outsider. While most came around, one activist's comment late in the campaign that the candidate had "embraced the district" underscored the sometimes tentative nature of the support. Finally, national Republicans and business groups opened all the stops for Riggs. He ran three weeks of advertisements on expensive San Francisco television stations, reaching the population-heavy portion of the district. One particularly devastating ad invoked Polly Klaas' killer Richard Allen Davis, with film footage of Alioto saying she did not support the death penalty in response to a reporter's question about Davis' sentence. Other ads pointed out her lack of roots in the district, and her lack of experience. Alioto was only able to answer Riggs on San Francisco television during the final week of the campaign, a gap to which Democrats attribute the loss. Others point to Alioto's ill fit as a young, urban woman in a district with large stretches of rough-hewn logging and farming country, and to the perceptions of a campaign in some disorder in the final days.

District 2 (40% D - 44% R)

Braden (D)	74,324	(34)
Herger (R)*	**132,496**	**(61)**
Brunner (L)	5,335	(2)
Thiessen (NL)	6,659	(3)

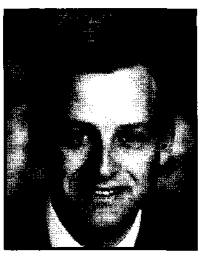
Incumbent Wally Herger didn't need to lose any sleep worrying over this one.

District 3 (46% D - 40% R)

Fazio (D)*	**112,590**	**(54)**
Lefever (R)	86,204	(41)
Donelle (L)	4,025	(2)
Erich (RF)	7,271	(3)

Incumbent Vic Fazio is one of the top-ranking Democrats in the House. For the last two years he's also been one of the top-ranking Democrats on the GOP hit list, since conservative businessman Tim Lefever came within four points of Fazio in 1994 even after being

Fazio


Lefever

outspent nearly 10 to one. Lefever essentially started his 1996 campaign in November 1994, and with the strong support of congressional Republicans this time around had the ability to raise close to $1 million for his campaign. Early on, billboards appeared in the rural parts of the district bearing the not-quite-catchy tagline, "Vic Fazio. Extremely liberal." Lefever recalled Fazio's promise to save McClellan Air Force Base, arguing that the Democrat's failure to do so proved his "impotence" in the new Congress. Kidnapper and murderer Richard Allen Davis appeared in a television commercial, his face morphed back and forth with Fazio's, implying that Fazio's opposition to the death penalty put him on the same moral level as Davis. But this ad, without any real justification for the use of the killer's image, may have backfired. Lefever's campaign dug itself in deeper when it argued publicly that Fazio's support for determinate sentencing as an assemblyman — a policy authored by conservative Republicans and opposed by the ACLU — was further responsible for Davis' release from prison. In the end, it became apparent that 1996 simply was not 1994. Fazio's near-$2 million campaign branded Lefever as an anti-choice extremist, blanketing district televisions and mailboxes.The message was enough to win him big majorities in the population-heavy Yolo and Sacramento County portions of the district, more than enough to overcome Lefever's edge in the rural sectors. But even a 13 point win won't be enough to keep Fazio off the endangered list next year — this district is growing more conservative, and mid-term elections are traditionally more friendly to Republicans.

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District 4 (38% D - 48% D)

Hirning (D)	89,455	(36)
Doolittle (R)*	**148,443**	**(60)**
McHargue (L)	8,516	(3)

A week before Election Day, incumbent John Doolittle was still claiming to be surprised that Democratic software executive Katie Hirning wasn't shooting at him with both barrels, the way she had in 1994. The explanation was simple: Hirning couldn't afford the ammunition this time around. While she had the only officially sanctioned Reform Party endorsement of any major party candidate in the state, the big-money backers — such as labor groups and EMILY's List — refused to open their wallets this year. This has never been a good district for Democrats, and registration has fallen several points over the last cycle. And so the mystified Doolittle returns happily to Washington.

District 5 (55%D - 31% R)

Matsui (D)*	**134,802**	**(71)**
Dinsmore (R)	49,820	(26)
Mors (I)	2,110	(1)
Miller (L)	2,408	(1)
Kersey (NL)	1,983	(1)

As expected, longtime incumbent Democrat Robert Matsui was handily re-elected in yet another rematch with Republican Robert Dinsmore.

District 6 (53% D - 30% R)

Woolsey (D)*	**145,364**	**(62)**
Hughes (R)	79,317	(34)
Jones (PF)	3,849	(2)
Kendal (NL)	5,982	(3)

Gas company executive Duane Hughes tried in the primary in 1994, made it to the general this year, and still is no closer to Washington, D.C. And won't be, as long as he runs in this Democratic district.

District 7 (60% D - 24% R)

Miller (D)*	**128,249**	**(72)**
Reece (R)	39,514	(22)
Liatunick (NL)	4,514	(2)
Thompson (RF)	6,411	(4)

Voters here like incumbent George Miller just fine, thanks, even though his son failed to gain their approval for an Assembly seat. His son lost the Democratic primary last March.

District 8 (62% D - 14%R)

Pelosi (D)*	**158,533**	**(85)**
Raimondo (R)	22,828	(12)
Smithstein (NL)	6,142	(3)

Incumbent Nancy Pelosi showed up in a few other GOP campaigns around the country, as an example of what kind of dangerous liberal excess would result if voters gave Democrats control of Congress. That's why San Francisco keeps sending her back.

District 9 (66% D - 13% R)

Dellums (D)*	**140,638**	**(77)**
Wright (R)	33,201	(18)
Condit (PF)	3,143	(2)
Forem (NL)	5,104	(3)

Hope springs eternal for Republican Deborah Wright, who also ran in 1994. Unfortunately, incumbent Ronald Dellums springs considerably higher.

District 10 (41% D - 43% R)

Tauscher (D)	**126,868**	**(49)**
Baker (R)*	121,332	(47)
Lyon (L)	2,222	(1)
Janlois (NL)	2,801	(1)
Place (RF)	5,861	(2)

Tauscher

Baker

This district was a long shot for Democrat Ellen Tauscher, though she appeared to be an ideal candidate. A moderate businesswoman, she had been one of the first women to win a seat on the New York Stock Exchange, had served as a campaign finance co-chair for Dianne Feinstein, and had recently published a book on childrearing. Incumbent Bill Baker had met challenges head-on before, however. Even though he was regarded as holding a more conservative philosophy than the district at large, he had been re-elected to Congress and to the state Assembly time and time again. But then Tauscher, who is married to the founder of the Computerland company, opened her wallet, and became $1.4 million more perfect. Combined with a flood of money from labor, womens groups, and national Democrats, this gave her a campaign kitty of more than $2 million to play with, far outstripping the incumbent. She found a handful of winning issues early on, hammering Baker for voting along with Gingrich's "extremist" agenda, and most significantly spotlighting his opposition to assault-weapons bans. In this largely suburban district, gun control became *the* crime issue of the year, and Baker was on the wrong side.Tauscher made particularly effective use of the husband of one of the 101 California assault-weapon shooting victims, mirroring the emotional appeal of James Brady on the national level. Towards the end of the campaign, Baker reportedly told associates that if he lost, it would have been the gun issue that killed him. But even this was only a part of Tauscher's overall campaign, which blanketed the district with mail and expensive San Francisco television commercials saying the incumbent just didn't share the district's values — going so far at one point as to link him to Roberto Alomar, the Baltimore Oriole infamous for spitting in an umpire's face. The campaign appeared to work particularly well among moderate GOP women who already were uncomfortable with Baker's pro-life stance. Baker's message that Tauscher was too liberal and was trying to buy the district didn't pack the same punch, and his inability to respond on television until the campaign's final days finally sank him. The win puts Tauscher in a delicate situation, however. The district is a natural GOP stronghold, and she will be at the top of every Republican target list that exists as long as she holds the office. Like Representative Jane Harman in Long Beach, she may be forced to pony up $1 million or more every two years to have any chance at all of holding the seat.

District 11 (48% D - 40% R)

Silva (D)	61,573	(36)
Pombo (R)*	**100,404**	**(59)**
Rego (L)	4,738	(3)
Bush (NL)	2,831	(2)

Incumbent Republican Richard Pombo, a fourth-generation rancher, businessman and former Tracy city councilman, has securely held his seat in the Stockton-based district, with its illusory Democratic registration edge, since beating Patti Garamendi in 1992. The popular, cowboy-hatted Pombo has, to nobody's particular surprise, beaten back yet another challenger, a young (25) public relations and political consultant, Jason Silva, who spent only $13,000 to wage a spirited but clearly underdog campaign.

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District 12 (54% D - 26% R)

Lantos (D)*	**133,583**	**(72)**
Jenkins (R)	43,809	(24)
Schmidt (L)	5,495	(3)
Borg (NL)	3,151	(2)

Incumbent Tom Lantos' only headache came in the form of a constituent's suicide in his district office just before Election Day. The incident made headlines, shook up Lantos' staff, and the election itself just passed quietly by.

District 13 (56% D - 26%R)

Stark (D)*	**106,467**	**(65)**
Fay (R)	49,141	(30)
Savage (L)	7,211	(4)

Republican James Fay wins the prize for the year's nastiest, most inconsequential piece of mail. He sent out a piece showing a woman leaning over a car window, talking to a Stark lookalike, with the inscription "Meet Pete Stark's Whore." The Republican was referencing a heated exchange in which Stark had called Connecticut Representative Nancy Johnson a "whore for the insurance industry."

District 14 (47% D - 34% R)

Eshoo (D)*	**131,595**	**(65)**
Brink (R)	62,334	(31)
Dehn (L)	3,103	(2)
Thompson (PF)	1,936	(1)
Wells (NL)	3,277	(2)

Republican Ben Brink also ran in 1994, polling a good eight points higher that time around. Didn't get him any farther than it did this year.

District 15 (45% D - 37% R)

Lane (D)	70,691	(36)
Campbell (R)*	**115,434**	**(58)**
Wimmers (L)	4,867	(2)
Currivan (NL)	2,993	(1)
Sharpe-Geisler (RF)	5,602	(3)

San Jose State University professor Dick Lane was confident he could match academic resumes with incumbent Tom Campbell point for point. But that's not what elections are about. Campbell goes back to Washington to rejoin a group of increasingly influential moderate Republicans.

District 16 (54% D - 28% R)

Lofgren (D)*	**85,082**	**(66)**
Wojslaw (R)	38,205	(30)
Bonino (L)	3,748	(3)
Abu-Shumays (NL)	1,703	

Definitely a tough year for incumbent Zoe Lofgren. Only 12 points above registration. A real squeaker.

District 17 (53% D - 30% R)

Farr (D)*	**102,658**	**(59)**
Brown (R)	65,648	(38)
Black (NL)	5,820	(3)

Incumbent Sam Farr was on the list of potentially vulnerable Democrats. He polled below registration in 1994, was out-raised by his Republican opponent, and has never enjoyed the kind of support accorded to predecessor Leon Panetta in this moderate coastal district. Republican Farm Bureau President Jess Brown appeared to be a good opponent — pro-choice, moderate on other social issues, a fiscal conservative but avowedly out of step with the Gingrich Congress. Early threats to run a write-in campaign from a liberal Santa Cruz attorney set up a possible two-front battle with potential to squeeze Farr out of office. But the write-in campaign never materialized, Brown's campaign never won the national support or local momentum it needed, and Farr chalked up his cleanest electoral victory yet.

District 18 (50% D - 37% R)

Condit (D)*	**98,517**	**(66)**
Conrad (R)	47,890	(32)
Morzella (L)	2,059	(1)
Riskin (NL)	1,660	(1)

Democratic incumbent Gary Condit, the lead "blue dog" Democrat in Congress, has the most conservative voting record of any Democrat in the House — and has regularly won re-election since he went to Congress in a 1989 special election. This year was no exception, as he easily beat back Republican challenger Bill Conrad. Condit's views clearly reflect his district, and he remains unfazed by his poor standing in his caucus and with environmentalists. Condit was the only Democrat on the League of Conservation Voters' recent "Dirty Dozen" list of members of Congress with the worst voting records on environmental issues. Assured of his own re-election, Condit lent his considerable backing to the campaign of Democrat Dennis Cardoza, a former Condit staffer, in the hotly contested, mud-slinging 26th Assembly District race against equally well-funded Tom Berryhill, son of the late Senator Clare Berryhill.

District 19 (42% D - 45% R)

Barile (D)	47,565	(28)
Radanovich (R)*	**114,211**	**(67)**
Pescolido (L)	5,012	(3)
Adalian (NL)	3,756	(2)

Swept in with the 1994 Republican tide, incumbent George Radanovich was elected president of the huge freshman class — a role with serious responsibility to move the frosh to sophomore status. The low-key Radanovich faced little homefront opposition in Paul Barile, an affable retired 78-year-old *Fresno Bee* printer, libriarian, sometime book reviewer and — in his own description — "half-assed playwright."

District 20 (55% D - 33% R)

Dooley (D)*	**46,427**	**(55)**
Harvey (R)	33,939	(40)
Richter (L)	3,770	(4)

Incumbent Cal Dooley, first elected to Congress in 1990, scooted to re-election over termed-out Bakersfield Assemblyman Trice Harvey — although Dooley's Central Valley district, like much of the valley, has become increasingly more conservative in recent years, and his election is no longer the sure thing it once was. Harvey might have been a stronger opponent had he not had several strikes against him at the outset. He got himself caught up in the nasty partisan controversy over the Assembly speakership, indicating he might support maverick Fresno Assemblyman Brian Setencich, but backed down after intense state and national pressure from the GOP — thus appearing to have broken his word to Setencich. Harvey was further burdened with a sexual harassment allegation against him by a former secretary — an allegation which he denied, although the case was dispatched with a cash settlement.

District 21 (38% D - 49% R)

Vollmer (D)	45,230	(27)
Thomas (R)*	**111,105**	**(66)**
Hodges (L)	2,716	(2)
Bialosky (NL)	3,020	(2)
Evans (Ref)	7,159	(4)

Longtime incumbent William Thomas, first elected to Congress in 1978, was again easily re-elected in this heavily Republican district, outpolling Democratic challenger Deborah Vollmer by more than 65,000 votes. Former vice-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, Thomas' power in Washington has faded somewhat in recent years, but clearly not by much at home.

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District 22 (41% D - 41% R)

Capps (D)	**102,915**	**(49)**
Seastrand (R)*	90,374	(43)
Bersohn (L)	1,948	(1)
Tomastik (NL)	1,569	(1)
Porter (RF)	3,429	(2)
Wheeler (I)	8,308	(4)

Capps

Seastrand

Shake up a can of soda, point it at your face, pop the top, and you'll have some idea what residents of this Santa Barbara-centered district were exposed to over the last few months. With a victory of less than 1000 votes in 1994, conservative incumbent Andrea Seastrand was one of Democrats' top national targets this year. Religion professor Walter Capps' decision to make the race a rematch guaranteed a first-class dust-up. The campaign hit a setback when Capps was involved in a serious auto accident in late summer, taking him off the campaign trail for more than a month. But allies took up the slack, even after Capps got his feet back underneath him. Labor groups began running ads excoriating Seastrand for voting against the usual litany of Medicare, education, and the environment. The Sierra Club weighed in with heavy independent expenditures of their own, broadcasting a TV ad superimposing Seastrand's face over a pipe gushing pollutants, asking voters to "dump Andrea Seastrand before she dumps anything else on us." Pro-choice groups put in their two cents, underlining Seastrand's staunch opposition to abortion. On the GOP side, business groups, national Republicans, pro-gun and pro-life groups all chipped in to defend the incumbent. One Seastrand ad again brought up the specter of Richard Allen Davis — in perhaps the year's most absurd permutation of the tactic — depicting the convicted killer and asserting that "When Richard Allen Davis got the death penalty he rightly deserved for murdering Polly Klaas, two people were disappointed: Richard Allen Davis and Walter Capps." Another ad noted that "liberal professor" Capps' "policy on illegal immigration is simple: Open the door, let 'em in, put them on welfare." Reinforcing the barrage of advertisements was a steady stream of national figures through the district: Henry Cisneros, Richard Gephart, Newt Gingrich, Bob and Elizabeth Dole, Hillary Clinton and more. President Bill Clinton made one of the key speeches of his campaign's endgame in the district. In the end, the multi-front attack on Seastrand's record, by groups with substantial credibility in the district, proved too overwhelming for the Republican. Some had speculated that moderate independent candidate Steven Wheeler, who had mounted a modestly financed campaign apparently aimed at crossover Republicans, would attract enough of these voters to deny Capps the win. But the Democrat's margin, bolstered by a decisive victory in the environmentally sensitive Santa Barbara County, proved too large to be undercut.

District 23 (42% D - 41% R)

Unruhe (D)	60,388	(36)
Gallegly (R)*	**98,369**	(59)
Lightfoot (L)	7,328	(4)
Hospodar (NL)	1,967	(1)

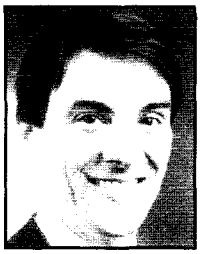
Incumbent Elton Gallegly's controversial amendment to last session's federal immigration bill, which would have denied public schooling to children of illegal immigrants, didn't quite win approval. But Gallegly himself did.

District 24 (45% D - 39% R)

Sherman (D)	**96,641**	**(50)**
Sybert (R)	81,428	(43)
Miller (L)	5,162	(3)
Lawrence (NL)	2,791	(1)
Shroyer (PF)	5,749	(3)

This seemingly accessible San Fernando Valley district once again proved a disappointment for Republicans, who spent the previous two elections trying to take out liberal incumbent Tony Beilenson. They came close enough two years ago to nudge Beilenson into retirement, and thought they had a chance with the return of his '94 opponent, former Wilson aide Rich Sybert. But past performance in the district told a considerably more mixed tale, as it had supported both Dianne Feinstein in '94 and Barbara Boxer in '92. Democrat Brad Sherman, a member of the state Board of Equalization, didn't bring the strongest name identification, but he did have proven fundraising ability in his past campaigns for

Sherman


Sybert

the statewide tax body. The two candidates had some common traits — both were long-time *apparatchiks* in their respective parties, both had some personal wealth, and both sought to portray themselves as moderates running against extremists. The balding Sherman poked fun at himself, handing out campaign combs and referring to himself as a "recovering nerd." But the most pointed jabs came from a Republican cartoonist in the area, who organized an entire Internet web page devoted to trashing Sherman's ambivalence on the issue of taxing cartoons. Taxes were also the focus of the toughest political hit Sherman weathered, revelations that he'd had three different property-tax liens, which were paid off only when he started his congressional campaign. By and large, though, it was Sybert who had more to live down. The most visible gaffe was a mailer with a photo of Sybert and retired General Colin Powell, taken in the '80s when Sybert worked at the Pentagon. The photo and the headline gave the unambiguous impression that Powell had formally endorsed Sybert, which he hadn't. Sherman's opposition research also uncovered several instances in which Sybert had spoken to a virulently anti-immigration organization known as VCT, suggesting the group had white supremacist ties. The issues also seemed to work against Sybert. He spent a lot of time on the wedge issues of immigration and affirmative action, and actually was one of the state co-chairs for Proposition 209. Sherman, though, portrayed himself as an immigration hawk as well, and had the year's more potent issues — guns, education, and tobacco — on his side. Sybert's reputation for being thin skinned also seems to have been borne out by a somewhat defensive endgame — much of his mail in the last two weeks was responding to Sherman attacks. In the end, Sybert improved on his 1994 performance by a whopping 600 votes and in a presidential election year, with higher Demo-

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cratic turnout, that just didn't cut it. Sherman's victory will have repercussions for the Board of Equalization. Governor Wilson will almost certainly pick a Republican to replace Sherman, which would give the GOP a majority on the largely-ministerial board.

District 25 (38% D - 47% R)

Trautman (D)	59,602	(33)
McKeon (R)*	**110,998**	**(62)**
Acker (L)	5,638	(3)
Gerber (PF)	2,300	(1)

After squashing a token primary challenger, GOP incumbent Howard "Buck" McKeon was equally ruthless to Democrat Diane Trautman. McKeon, who served as president of his 1992 freshman congressional class, spent much of his time raising money for other Republicans in the area.

District 26 (59% D - 25% R)

Berman (D)*	**61,963**	**(66)**
Glass (R)	26,734	(29)
Fritschler (L)	3,275	(4)
Hearne (NL)	1,962	(2)

When underfunded Republican challenger Bill Glass took on veteran Democratic kingmaker Howard Berman in a 59 percent Democratic district, the result was predictable: Glass got smashed.

District 27 (44% D - 41% R)

Kahn (D)	73,679	(43)
Rogan (R)	**84,642**	**(50)**
Sheasby (G)	3,769	(2)
Michael (L)	6,062	(4)
Zucker (NL)	1,623	(1)

The least competitive race in one of the most competitive district clusters in the state. The suburban Glendale/Pasadena area has been steadily trending the Democrats' way for the last few years, and with a klatch of open legislative races, a substantial coordinated effort under the banner Victory '96 went to work trying to move longtime Republican seats into the Democratic column. Doug Kahn, a computer typographer with personal wealth in the form of a trust fund from the Annenberg fortune, had run twice before, losing both times to veteran incumbent Carlos Moorhead. Moorhead's retirement had the Democrats smelling blood, and they tried to bypass the two-time loser with former Screen Actors Guild president Barry Gordon. Kahn's left-over name recognition and deep pockets proved too much for Gordon, though, foiling the party's best-laid plans. Across the aisle, Republicans had a nearly ideal candidate in the form of one-term Assemblyman James Rogan. Polished, articulate, and conservative, Rogan earned high marks from Sacramento colleagues for his legislative skill. Despite that skill, much of Rogan's campaign was pretty much boilerplate liberal bashing, sprinkled with attempts to soften Rogan's ideological edges. At one point, Rogan sought to portray his support for restrictions on Medi-Cal funded abortions as a "pro-choice" vote, since it included an exception for the health of the mother. Kahn's campaign saw its main opponent as Newt Gingrich, and most hit mailers against Rogan had Newt's picture on the cover. In fact, Gingrich was one of the cavalcade of GOP hotshots who traveled into the district to raise money for Rogan. By most accounts, Kahn's biggest problem wasn't the message, but the messenger. Kahn lost the charm war to Rogan hands-down, and there's some evidence the persistently-negative tone of his campaign was off-putting to voters. The 43 percent he won this year was the same vote percentage he secured two years ago, and, as with his previous two tries, he trailed Democratic registration. Still, Rogan's victory was hardly resounding. With the three legislative races clustered in the same area all going Democratic this year, the party will no doubt take yet another look in 1998, and cross its fingers Kahn will finally get the message.

District 28 (41% D - 44% R)

Levering (D)	63,972	(37)
Dreier (R)*	**103,939**	**(60)**
Saurenman (L)	4,183	(2)

For some inexplicable reason, there was some Democratic buzz suggesting Republican incumbent David Dreier might be in trouble in his conservative northeastern San Gabriel Valley district. Whoever circulated that buzz must have been doing some "inhaling."

District 29 (56% D - 26% R)

Waxman (D)*	**132,206**	**(68)**
Stepanek (R)	46,667	(24)
Binkley (L)	4,299	(2)
Rees (NL)	2,803	(1)
Daly (PF)	8,046	(4)

Republican Paul Stepanek adopted a novel approach in to the impossible task of unseating veteran incumbent Henry Waxman. The twenty-something Stepanek broke ranks with his party by endorsing Bill Clinton in the presidential race. He also backed Democrat Brad Sherman over Republican Rich Sybert in the adjacent 24th District congressional race. In a joint appearance, Stepanek even suggested that 11-term incumbent Waxman "had more in common with Newt Gingrich and [California GOP] Congressman David Dreier than I do." It might have been a good gimmick against a weaker incumbent, but Waxman, a veteran pol, had a big bank account and a history of taking on tobacco before it became chic. Some Republicans suggest Stepanek's centrist approach may be where the GOP needs to go, but Los Angeles' liberal west side seems a curious place to test the theory.

District 30 (62% D - 20% R)

Becerra (D)*	**52,673**	**(73)**
Parker (R)	13,216	(18)
Probst (L)	2,464	(3)
Watson-Frith (NL)	1,805	(2)
Mandel (PF)	2,264	(3)

Incumbent Xavier Becerra cruised, as expected. The 70,000 total votes cast in this Latino-dominated East Los Angeles enclave was up from 1994, but actually down from the 77,000 cast in 1992. The "sleeping giant" of Latino voting power appears to still be asleep, at least in this district.

District 31 (58% D - 26% R)

Martinez (D)*	**63,553**	**(68)**
Flores (R)	26,041	(28)
Everling (L)	4,252	(5)

Things continue to get easier for longtime incumbent Marty Martinez. Whereas he has sometimes had to weather at least a primary opponent, this year both primary and general were cakewalks. Another heavily-Latino district where turnout was down from the last presidential year.

District 32 (73% D - 13% R)

Dixon (D)*	**114,584**	**(83)**
Ardito (R)	16,712	(12)
Donner (L)	5,870	(4)
Jibri (NL)	1,435	(1)

Nine-term incumbent Julian Dixon seldom breaks a sweat, and this year was no exception.

District 33 (67% D - 17% R)

Roybal-Allard (D)*	**43,788**	**(83)**
Leonard (R)	7,308	(14)
Johnson (L)	2,030	(4)

Unlike the 30th and 31st, turnout in

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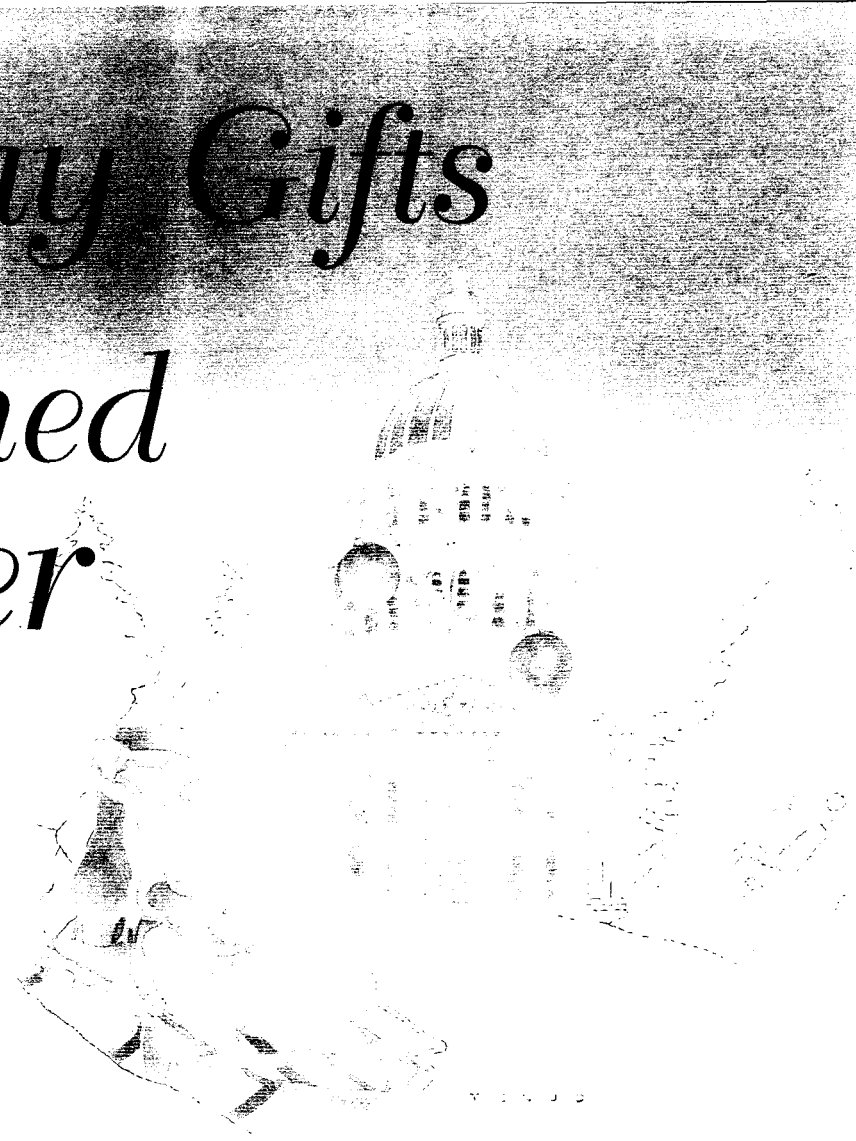

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this 84 percent Latino district was actually up from 1992, suggesting that here, the promise of increased Latino voter registration was at least partially realized. While it wouldn't make much difference to youthful incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard, Democrats running statewide in 1998 would like to see those new voters stay with them in the off year.

District 34 (61% D - 26% R)

Torres (D)*	**87,803**	**(69)**
Nunez (R)	33,677	(26)
Scott (AI)	3,846	(3)
Argall (L)	2,528	(2)

The working class section of the San Gabriel Valley has been electing Esteban Torres to Congress for a long time. Old habits die hard.

District 35 (75% D - 11% R)

Waters (D)*	**86,878**	**(86)**
Carlson (R)	11,930	(12)
Mego (AI)	2,433	(2)

Four years ago, Representative Maxine Waters was a prominent figure in the California strategy of then-candidate Bill Clinton. This year, thanks to Clinton's centrist inclinations and his decision to sign the welfare reform bill, the two seemed to keep their distance from each other. Nobody seemed to care in Waters' home district, which both she and Clinton won handily.

District 36 (42% D - 41% R)

Harman (D)*	**107,738**	**(53)**
Brooks (R)	88,909	(44)
Dovner (L)	4,505	(2)
McManus (NL)	3,001	(1)

It was only a little more than a year ago that former Rancho Palos Verdes councilwoman Susan Brooks conceded defeat to incumbent Democrat Jane Harman in the 1994 race for this coastal Los Angeles County district. Harman had won the nation's closest congressional race by a scant 812 votes, and Brooks initiated a two-year probe that produced exactly 90 bad ballots. With such ill will left over from their last go-around, a prospective 1996 re-match figured to set a new standard for ugliness, and for awhile, it did. Brooks, a fiery and controversial figure in the area's GOP circles was sufficiently user-unfriendly that she parted company with one of her consultants at the consultant's request. Her primary opponent, wealthy psychiatrist Irwin Savodnik, poured about half a million dollars into the campaign, and lined up

Harman

Brooks

a long list of Brooks haters. Brooks, however, had residual name identification and some timely help from her allies in Washington and defeated Savodnik and two other Republican contenders. Harman, meanwhile, was raising money hand over fist — so much, in fact, that she entered the last month of the campaign with more than $900,000 in cash on hand. She was also continuing to cultivate ties with area aerospace executives, several of whom formally endorsed her. A long list of "Republicans for Harman" — among them some of Brooks' former city council colleagues — actually purchased a freeway billboard to promote the candidate. Brooks, however, had some important Republicans on her side as well — a parade of GOP heavyweights swooped in to help her raise money, and she got some strategic help from former Reagan aide Lyn Nofzinger. When it got down to the main event, Brooks started out true to form, branding Harman's aerospace executive backers as "political whores" and gushing over the "visionary" Newt Gingrich. Brooks' most effective hit, slammed home in mailer after mailer, was a recitation of Harman's spotty voting record, including missed votes on key domestic and foreign policy bills. But Harman seemed to have most of the issues breaking her way, making particular hay of Brooks' heavy independent expenditure support from the National Rifle Association. The scrappy Brooks also had more internal campaign trouble, going through three day-to-day campaign managers and having a falling out with yet another consultant. As the endgame approached, Brooks seemed to relax from the harshness, conducting a couple of relatively civil public forums with Harman. By then, though, it was clear that Harman was cruising, thanks to her moderate reputation and the Democratic cast to the year. Harman finished eleven points ahead of registration and, for the first time in her three tries, won more than 50 percent of the vote.

District 37 (72% D - 13% R)

McDonald (D)*	**81,695**	**(85)**
Voetee (R)	14,115	(15)

Last year at this time, Juanita McDonald was a member of the state Assembly, biding her time waiting for the other shoe to drop on then-incumbent Walter Tucker III. Tucker was eventually forced to resign after being convicted on political corruption charges, and McDonald filed to run. The Democratic field for the combined primary and special election carried nine names, including that of Tucker's wife Robin, but the real race was between McDonald and veteran Paramount Assemblyman Willard Murray. Murray had an early start and most of the institutional support in the African-American community. McDonald, however, was able to mine her education allies in the Assembly, and got some timely financial help from EMILYs List. Murray, whose own ties to gun and tobacco interests didn't play particularly well, also suffered from running what some considered to be an old-fashioned campaign. McDonald, meanwhile, benefitted from being one of the few candidates in the field whose base wasn't in the northern portion of the district. She managed to secure only a quarter of the vote, but that still put her three points ahead of Murray at the finish. The district's heavy Democratic registration made the general election a mere formality.

District 38 (51% D - 35% R)

Zbur (D)	65,882	(43)
Horn (R)*	**81,372**	**(53)**
Yeager (G)	4,282	(3)
Gautreau (L)	3,020	(2)

The Democratic tilt to registration in this district would figure to make any Republican occupying this seat an inviting target. Incumbent Republican Steve Horn, however, is not just any Republican. Viewed as one of the more moderate members of the GOP's congressional contingent, Horn's pragmatic environmental record actually won him the endorsement of the Sierra Club, a rarity for a Republican. The district's past performance is also eclectic—Michael Huffington carried the district over Dianne Feinstein in 1994, as did Bruce Herschensohn over Barbara Boxer in 1992. Still, the Democrat running against Horn this time out, Rick Zbur, was hardly a pushover. A lawyer who represents industry in environmental cases, Zbur seemed an energetic and attractive op-

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ponent. He upset 1994 nominee Peter Matthews in a race that turned nasty at the finish, when Matthews accused the openly gay Zbur of being a tool of the gay community's political ambitions. By contrast, Zbur's sexual orientation was barely an issue in the general election, with each side preferring to approach the race by painting the other as an extremist. Zbur pointed to a voting record which appeared to put Horn well in the Contract with America camp. Horn, meanwhile, played the centrist road, running away from the GOP Congress by emphasizing his own independence on issues like gun control, abortion, and the environment. Zbur's own fund-raising power was augmented by help from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, but Horn's refusal to accept PAC money suddenly became a political advantage when campaign finances suddenly attracted the national spotlight. In the end, the race was only a little closer than Horn's victory in '94, and he seems well-positioned to remain in his seat as long as its boundaries remain the same.

District 39 (38% D - 47% R)

Davis (D)	56,723	(32)
Royce (R)*	**110,201**	**(63)**
Dean (L)	9,416	(5)

Ed Royce's Democratic opponent received two contributions — totalling $45.

District 40 (38% D - 47% R)

Conaway (D)	42,117	(29)
Lewis (R)*	**93,750**	**(65)**
McGee (AI)	4,686	(3)
Kelley (L)	4,131	(3)

Jerry Lewis had the additional burden of two conservative candidates on the ballot. Probably why he was held to under 100,000 votes.

District 41 (39% D - 46% R)

Waldron (D)	44,425	(33)
Kim (R)*	**77,578**	**(58)**
Newhouse (L)	6,736	(5)
Kramer (NL)	4,765	(4)

Campaign-finance investigations,or no campaign-finance investigations, Jay Kim keeps rolling along — now, for a third term in Congress.

District 42 (51% D - 36% R)

Brown (D)*	**51,634**	**(50)**
Wilde (R)	50,769	(50)

Four years ago, he won by 10,000 votes. Two years ago, that victory margin had dwindled to 2500. Now, incum-

Brown

Wilde

bent Democrat George Brown Jr. — at 76 the dean of the California congressional delegation, who has served in the House since 1962 — won by his closest shave ever: 865 votes. He may very well owe his survival to "atmospherics" and to overconfidence on the part of Republicans who made him one of their top national targets. Their instrument of doom was Judge Linda Wilde, a conservative half Brown's age, who once described herself as "weird" in an interview. Wilde took the standard conservative line in attacking the unabashedly liberal incumbent: He is, always has been and always will be a tax-and-spend Democrat who opposes welfare reform, opposes immigration reform, opposes the death penalty and supports controls on guns. She also blamed him for the area's swooning economy, on the ropes due to cutbacks in military spending and a recession in the aerospace industry. Brown defended his record of bringing pork into the district, plus lashed out at Wilde for being on the wrong side of an issue critical in an area with one of the highest crime and murder rates in the country — gun control. President Bill Clinton, who carried San Bernardino County himself, stumped the area on Brown's behalf. Democrats also were able to increase the margin of voter registration during the final month of the campaign. In the end, Wilde may have been undone by the "atmospherics." This election proved to be a status quo affair, where incumbents — even liberals such as George Brown — enjoyed an intangible advantage. In addition, Wilde was hurt by the fact that Republicans may have stayed home in greater numbers than did Democrats. The falloff in voting in this mostly urban, heavily minority corner of San Bernardino County is stunning. In 1992, with 155,000 votes cast in the district, the Republican candidate drew 67,000, with another 8200 going to a Libertarian. Overall, 50 percent more voters went to the polls in 1992 than in 1996. Turnout was even higher here in 1994, one of the worst years for voting in memory. In 1994, with 111,000 votes cast, the Republican drew 54,000 votes. Republicans, for all the $1 million or more spent on this campaign, failed in the most elemental way — to give their people a reason to vote.

District 43 (39% D - 47% R)

Kimbrough (D)	60,516	(39)
Calvert (R)*	**85,172**	**(54)**
Berkman (L)	2,713	(2)
Akin (PF)	2,971	(2)
Wallack (NL)	5,860	(4)

Ken Calvert's biggest challenges are behind him with the departure of longtime nemisis Mark Takano, the Democrat who nearly beat Calvert in 1992, then challenged him again in 1994. Still, it was a less than impressive win for Calvert, who enters his third term.

District 44 (42% D - 44% R)

Rufus (D)	66,750	(39)
Bono (R)*	**97,522**	**(57)**
Cochran (AI)	3,475	(2)
Wilkinson (NL)	2,806	(2)

Back to the talk-show biz for Democrat Anita Rufus, who failed to put a dent in California's resident celebrity-politician — Sonny Bono.

District 45 (32% D - 51% R)

Alexander (D)	62,569	(33)
Rohrabacher (R)*	**113,827**	**(61)**
Murphy (L)	8,150	(4)
McDevitt (NL)	2,834	(2)

They love Dana Rohrabacher down in Orange County. After all, if you're from the Cool Coast, who better to represent you in Congress than somebody who maintains his campaign office over a surf shop. Certainly not an 82-year-old grandmother who raised less than $50,000. Not in Orange County.

District 46 (47% D - 39% R)

Sanchez (D)	**46,697**	**(47)**
Dornan (R)*	45,932	(46)
Reimer (L)	2,094	(2)
Aguirre (NL)	1,693	(2)
Stafford (RF)	2,907	(3)

It promised to be expensive. It promised to be hard-hitting. And it promised to be a nail-biter to the bitter end. And it didn't break its promises. Democrat Loretta Sanchez, a moderate businesswoman who had been a registered Republican until a few years ago, posed the most formidable challenge to incumbent Republican Bob Dornan since his race against Democratic incumbent Jerry

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Sanchez

Dornan

Patterson more than a decade ago. Sanchez had money, energy, a solid campaign organization, an edge in voter registration and roots in the district's large but politically dormant Latino community. Dornan had wide name recognition, a record of bringing pork into the district, a peripatetic campaign style and a gift for behaving like a wounded attack dog when cornered. Dornan began the campaign late, having been cash-short thanks to his abortive run for president earlier this year and a false sense of complacency over his prospects for re-election. But once underway, the conservative incumbent dragged out his usual bundle of campaign themes, painting Sanchez as just another pro-abortion, tax-and-spend liberal. He also savaged her for taking support from the gay community — not just the district gay community, not just the state gay community but from gays all over the country eager to see Congress' number-one gay basher tossed out on his kiester. Dornan also accused her of carpetbagging, pointing out that she and her husband own a residence outside the district in Rancho Palos Verdes. She, in turn, criticized him for spending most of his time in Virginia rather than in Orange County, sending out a misleading mailer that purported to show Dornan's mansion near Washington. The photo actually was of a Viennese castle. At one point, Dornan accused Sanchez of being an "Hispanic pretender," calling attention to the fact that she used her married name — Brixley — when running for the Anaheim City Council in 1994. For her part, Sanchez accused the incumbent of being out of touch with the district, especially on the issue of gun control. She made a major push to link Dornan with efforts to repeal the ban on assault weapons, an issue that resonated well with suburban voters all over California. But Sanchez concentrated her efforts in the Hispanic community, aided by officials from the Clinton administration — HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros and Transportation Secretary Federico Pena — who campaigned on her behalf. Dornan had his own star — vice presidential nominee Jack Kemp, who stumped the district late in October. He also called upon old allies in Christian and anti-abortion groups. Both campaigns used their six-figure treasuries on direct mail and cable television, with Sanchez getting the jump on Dornan by launching her cable campaign in late September. She also was aided by Dornan's previous Democratic opponent, Mike Farber, who used cash left over from his '94 effort to fund a "dump Dornan" movement. There was even an incident of comic relief when Dornan's son made a citizen's arrest of Sanchez' husband, whom he caught tearing down his father's campaign signs. Sanchez subsequently apologized. As the campaign reached the final weeks, an increasingly worried Dornan appealed to Reform Party candidate Lawrence Stafford to quit the race, reasoning that votes for Stafford would come out of Dornan's hide. Stafford refused to quit, however. In the end, Dornan was able to get his base of moderate-income white voters to the polls, while Sanchez was bolstered by an absentee ballot effort among Latinos, who gave her 80 percent of their votes. Dornan also ran well among Asians, who make up about 20 percent of the district. When the dust settled on Election Day, only 233 votes separated the pair, with Dornan slightly ahead and some 6000 absentees yet to be counted. Sanchez victory did not emerge until those absentees were counted the following week. Dornan cried "fraud" and threatened to ask the GOP-controlled House to set aside the election — an unlikely scenario.

District 47 (29% D - 55% R)

Laine (D)	63,877	(29)
Cox (R)*	**143,383**	**(65)**
Wagner (L)	5,991	(3)
Adam (NL)	6,186	(3)

The only mystery here all year concerned Christopher Cox' chances to be Bob Dole's running mate. And there really was no mystery about that at all.

District 48 (28% D - 55% R)

Farrell (D)	53,381	(27)
Packard (R)*	**128,066**	**(66)**
Miles (NL)	7,158	(4)
Dreu (RF)	7,083	(4)

Incumbent Ron Packard wasn't slowed in his march to an eighth term by his Democratic opponent's main issue — the conversion of El Toro Air Base to a civilian airport. Dan Farrell opposes the project. But then, so, too, does Packard.

District 49 (39% D - 39% R)

Navarro (D)	77,482	(43)
Bilbray (R)*	**94,850**	**(52)**
Lippe (L)	3,745	(2)
Sterling (NL)	2,915	(2)
Hambsch (RF)	3,320	(2)

Try as he would, try as he might, Democrat Peter Navarro just couldn't tie incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray to House Speaker Newt Gingrich. That was the centerpiece of Navarro's campaign, but one Bilbray was able to counter by pointing out where he had broken with Gingrich on key votes — especially the attempt to repeal the ban on assault weapons and the bill that

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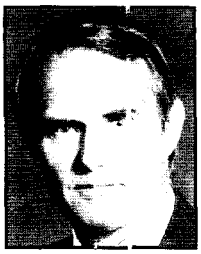
Bilbray

Navarro

raised the federal minumum wage. The assault-weapons ban especially worked for Bilbray, especially after he earned a rebuke from the National Rifle Association, which in this district may be worn like a badge of honor. With his first message failing to capture the imagination of voters, Navarro fell back on another tactic: He began apologizing for his past behavior. In a rather bizarre turn of events, the UC-Irvine professor performed a public *mea culpa* for the tenor of his three previous campaigns for San Diego City Council, San Diego Board of Supervisors and San Diego mayor — especially the latter. Navarro was defeated for mayor four years ago by the current incumbent, Susan Golding, after a bare-knuckles campaign that cemented his reputation as a junkyard dog. It was that reputation that Navarro sought to soften with his repentence. Of course, the "new Navarro" only softened so much; he once referred to Bilbray as "Bozo Brain." Navarro also called in some heavyweight Democratic support, including both halves of the First Couple — President Bill and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. But he was up against a former county supervisor who remains popular among his constituents, even among Democrats — a popularity more than reflected in the final tally.

District 50 (49% D - 30% R)

Filner (D)*	**65,246**	**(62)**
Baize (R)	33,722	(32)
Zoebisch (L)	1,249	(1)
Shepard (NL)	1,900	(2)
Clark (RF)	2,896	(3)

Incumbent Democrat Bob Filner's toughest race this year was against City Councilman Juan Vargas in the March primary. Republicans thought about trying to capitalize on Vargas' hard-hitting attacks against Filner, but they never gave their candidate, Baptist minister Jim Baize, much money. And without the cash, Baize had no chance.

District 51 (30% D - 51% R)

Tamerius (D)	57,917	(29)
Cunningham (R)*	**127,961**	**(65)**
Anderson (L)	4,624	(2)
Clark (PF)	4,768	(2)
Bourdette (NL)	2,640	(1)

Former "top gun" ace Randy Cunningham downs another Democrat.

District 52 (38% D - 44% R)

Wesley (D)	47,676	(30)
Hunter (R)*	**103,231**	**(65)**
Ridley (L)	3,159	(2)
Jordan (PF)	3,284	(2)
Ballantyne (RF)	1,317	(1)

Duncan Hunter continues to roll up impressive victories.

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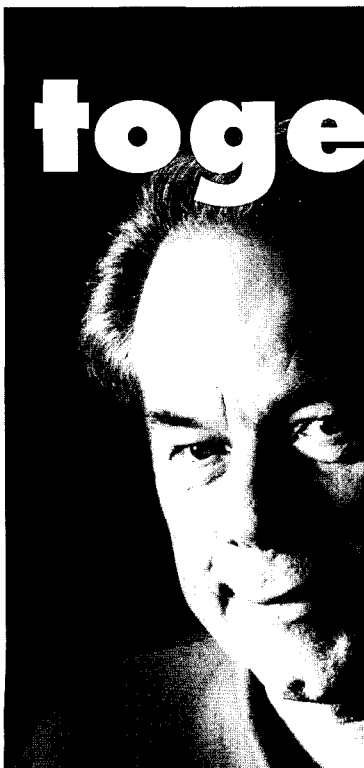

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senate

District 1 (38% D - 46% R)

Romero (D)	114,265	(37)
Leslie (R)*	**192,912**	**(63)**

Incumbent Tim Leslie lost his statewide appeal to voters in March, when his mountain lion-hunting initiative failed. But he'll be back in the Senate to keep the issue alive.

District 3 (58% D - 21% R)

Burton (D)	**199,458**	**(71)**
Rau (R)	66,326	(24)
Harte (L)	15,525	(6)

As term limits clean out incumbents from both houses of the Legislature, the Senate begins to look more and more like the old Assembly. In this instance, Assemblyman John Burton had no real contest in this San Francisco-centered district. His sizable bank account was farmed out on behalf of Democrats in more difficult districts.

District 5 (48% D - 40% R)

Johnston (D)*	**150,527**	**(60)**
Boese (R)	99,590	(40)

Johnston

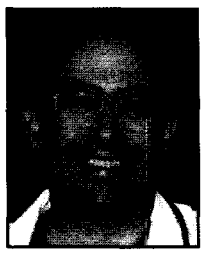
Boese

Republican Kurt Boese wasn't very generous to the man who may very well have been responsible for winning Boese the GOP nomination last March. That benefactor, of course, was none other than Boese's November rival — Democratic incumbent Pat Johnston. Just before the March primary Johnston sent out a pair of mailers lambasting Boese's opponent — George Osborne. The negative hits may have been enough to tip the scales against Osborne, a well-funded moderate who likely would have given Johnston a much rougher campaign this fall. Thus, Johnston himself set up what turned out to be one of the season's more bizarre legislative contests. Johnston raised and spent nearly $1 million, much of it in the final weeks of the campaign, to soundly defeat Boese, a little-known ultra-right-wing Christian fundamentalist who supports prayer and Bible study in schools and believes evolution should not be taught because it has been "totally disproven." Boese raised roughly 10 percent of Johnston's total, but what he lacked in cash he more than made up for in vitriol. His campaign was awash in negative ads, implying that Johnston supports same-sex marriages (which he does not) and linking the incumbent to the man convicted of the Polly Klaas murder, Richard Allen Davis. Sent under the aegis of the Republican Party — which hadn't chosen Boese as its anointed candidate in the primary and kicked in nowhere near the big bucks given to other GOP candidates in the increasingly conservative Central Valley — the final Boese mailer (the second to invoke the Klaas murder) depicted Davis making his infamous obcene gesture to the jury, and compared him to Johnston in their ostensibly shared views on crime and the death penalty. For his part, Johnston campaigned hard and advertised heavily, focusing on his long record as a legislator, including mailers, presumably targeting conservative voters, which featured his picture with those of Governor Pete Wilson and deposed GOP Assemblyman Bill Hoge and noting their mutual support of certain shared causes. Johnston wasn't taking anything for granted in the politically volatile Central Valley, which despite a Democratic registration edge leans increasingly to the right.

District 7 (45% D - 39% R)

Smith (D)	156,994	(48)
Rainey (R)	**157,176**	**(47)**
Billings (NL)	6,440	(2)
Knudson(R)	6,533	(2)

As recently as a year ago, even some Democratic observers were predicting this race couldn't be won. Assemblyman Richard Rainey was a popular political figure with a reputation for soft-spoken, moderate positions, and as a former sheriff had a crime record that couldn't be beat. Assemblyman


Smith

Rainey

Bob Campbell even moved south to avoid taking on Rainey. Then along came Contra Costa County Supervisor Jeff Smith, a lawyer and public health doctor known for outspoken opposition to pro-gun interests and a history of patching up gunshot victims. A perfect candidate, his resume seemingly cut from the hyperbolic mold of made-for-TV movies. And when a look at the district's voting record convinced him that it could be won, Democratic elections poohbah Bill Lockyer agreed to provide all the green that would be needed. From mid-summer, Smith's campaign focused on Rainey's most conservative Assembly votes, citing particularly his support for an NRA-backed concealed-weapons bill. Democrats argued that Rainey's moderate reputation masked a voting record even more conservative than local Newt Gingrich ally Bill Baker's, and hammered this point home with more than $1 million in mail and radio advertisements. Smith raked in close to $600,000 in big contributions in the last three weeks alone, once polls showed that he was close. Helping the Democratic effort was an overlapping $2 million bid by businesswoman Ellen Tauscher to unseat Baker, which loudly and constantly hit on the same themes: an extremist GOP, with particular focus on Republicans' opposition to assault weapons bans. In the end Rainey was outspent, and Democrats persuaded enough voters that Rainey just might be an extremist, or support extremists, to allow Smith to slip past him on Election Day. Rainey won by a substantial margin in the smaller, slightly more Republican Alameda County portion of the district, while Smith's edge in his larger home base of Contra Costa put him over the top. But early absentee counts

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allowed Rainey to gain nearly 1000 votes on his rival in each county, taking a slim lead. More votes remained to be counted at press time, but Rainey's victory appeared likely.

District 9 (67% D - 13% R)

Lee (D)	**179,633**	**(78)**
Hudson (R)	33,724	(15)
Prettie (NL)	7,816	(3)
Evans (PF)	8,192	(4)

Assemblywoman Barbara Lee won this district in a fight against seatmate Assemblyman Bob Campbell in the March primary.

District 11 (45% D - 37% R)

Sher (D)*	**156,993**	**(59)**
Shannon (R)	102,217	(38)
Matonis (L)	10,096	(4)

The departure of Tom Campbell for the U.S. House of Representatives late last year set up an ugly and hugely expensive primary and special election fight between then-Assemblyman Byron Sher, a Stanford University law professor, and Governor Pete Wilson aide Patrick Shannon. The race sunk far enough into costly absurdity that Sher, widely recognized as one of environmentalists' best friends in the Legislature, was accused in a Republican mailer of hypocritically using dangerous pesticides on his property. Sher still won handily. With the kitchen sink, pipe fittings, and drain scum already thrown in the first round, Shannon and Senate Republicans had little ammunition left for November, and largely sat this one out.

District 13 (52% D - 28% R)

Vasconcellos (D)	**107,190**	**(59)**
Morton (R)	49,992	(28)
Webster (L)	6,095	(3)
Dunstan (NL)	2,778	(2)
Cortese (RF)	16,074	(9)

The speculation in this race was whether or not erstwhile Democratic Assemblyman Dom Cortese's new Reform Party designation would make a splash. Would his name recognition earned through 16 years of legislative service split the Democratic vote? Would Senate Republicans put money behind Cortese, or otherwise surreptitiously help him enough to let GOP candidate Ray Morton win a three-way race? Would Ross Perot fly in to help the man who for several months had been the only elected Reform Party official in the country? No, no, and no. Longtime San Jose Assemblyman John Vasconcellos soared to an easy victory, and gets to take his unique blend of rumpled rage and new-age consciousness to the Senate.

District 15 (52% D - 31%R)

Areias (D)	109,930	(46)
McPherson (R)	**111,158**	**(47)**
Coffin (G)	10,608	(5)
Hartley (NL)	5,566	(2)

Areias

McPherson

Never has there been such an appropriately named Green Party candidate. The left-leaning votes attracted by E. Coffin, many of them clearly from the progressive wing of the Democratic Party, were precisely those that appear to have killed Rusty Areias in this race. The critical defections were no accident. Assemblyman Bruce McPherson, the popular former editor of the Santa Cruz daily newspaper, spent hundreds of thousands of dollars bashing Areias on a long list of issues ranging from selling district water to Los Angeles to coddling sexual harassers in his Assembly office to being investigated by the FBI. The campaign focused very specifically on driving votes away from Areias. If moderate Democrats and independents voted for McPherson, so much the better. A component of the district mail and television ads painted a glowing portrait of McPherson's local history and accomplishments. But if progressives and Areias supporters went to Coffin or didn't vote at all, that was fine, too. Both candidates were among the most heavily funded in the state, spending well over $1 million apiece. Locals were treated to the most relentlessly negative campaign, from both sides, that they had seen in recent memory, provoking cries of disgust from newspapers and citizens alike. Democrats noted that Areias stuck more to critiquing McPherson's voting record and support for conservative Republicans, while the GOP campaign got personal — an appropriate distinction, but one lost on voters deluged by mudslinging mail. Areias' focus, with nearly $2 million spent by his campaign, was on McPherson's support for "extremist" GOP leaders such as Assemblyman Curt Pringle and Senator Rob Hurtt, on the Republican's vote for NRA-backed concealed weapons legislation. But McPherson had too much of a legitimate record as a moderate — backed up by major newspaper endorsements — for these charges to stick. The Republican's character attacks proved tactically more successful, consistently chipping away at the Democrat's support. In the end, McPherson ran only a bit behind Areias in Santa Cruz County, and beat him handily in Monterey County, both places where the Democrat needed to poll strongly to win. In the left-leaning Santa Cruz, the Green candidate soaked up a considerable portion of the Democratic vote, providing just the spoiler McPherson needed. But with fewer than 800 votes separating the two candidates, the nearly 25,000 absentee ballots painstakingly being counted at press time could change the outcome. This is an unfriendly district for Republicans, making it unlikely for anyone without McPherson's unique combination of moderate philosophy and long-time family roots in the area to win with an "R" after their name. Even if he wins, he'll have a battle when he faces re-election, and once he leaves, the district will more than likely fall back into Democratic hands.

District 17 (35% D - 49% R)

Figueroa (D)	76,027	(34)
Knight (R)	**149,710**	**(66)**

Former test pilot William "Pete" Knight heads across the hall from the Assembly to the state Senate in a staunch conservative district which has been represented by termed-out right winger Don Rogers. The only real action in the race came in the lively three-person primary, which pitted Knight against former Senator/Assemblyman/congressional candidate Phil Wyman and Victorville city manager Jim Cox. Cox kept Knight under 50 percent in the primary, but voters were apparently tired of seeing the name of the job-shopping Wyman.

District 19 (40% D - 44% R)

Birke (D)	85,591	(39)
Wright (R)*	**136,408**	**(61)**

Incumbent Cathie Wright's campaign for lieutenant governor two years ago resulted in her opponent Gray

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Davis winning more votes than any other Democrat in the country in 1994. Wright will finish out her Senate career on an up note, with an easy re-election victory.

District 21 (45% D - 40% R)

Schiff (D)	**112,972**	**(52)**
Boland (R)	95,123	(44)
New (L)	9,070	(4)

Schiff

Boland

Of the four competitive legislative and congressional races clumped together in the Glendale/Burbank/Pasadena area, this expensive, explosive contest was the linchpin. Registration in this formerly safe Republican haven has flipped from 45-43 Republican after the '91 redistricting to the current 45-40 Democratic. The district had gone for Dianne Feinstein in 1994, and termed-out incumbent Newton Russell was actually kept under 50 percent in '92. Still, Democrat Adam Schiff would need some help if he was to wrest this seat from the Republican column, and he got it, from his party and from his opponent. Republican Paula Boland, who carpetbagged into the district from her San Fernando Valley assembly district, seemed to have trouble from the start. For one thing, she was not the first choice of her prospective GOP leader, as Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt had wanted Pasadena Assemblyman Bill Hoge to make the run. When Hoge cleared out, Boland was able to survive a bloody four-way primary that included a ferocious attack from self-funded businessman Bob Oltman. Oltman and Boland are still locked in civil litigation over charges made during the campaign. Schiff, a former prosecutor, had no competition in his primary and spent much of the spring and summer walking precincts and raising money. Democrats geared up a sizeable coordinated independent-expenditure effort, centered around this district, the two nested assembly districts (the 43rd and 44th), and the overlapping congressional district (CD 27). They called it "Ground Zero." Senate President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer also made the 21st one of his seven priority races, and he and his caucus mates wound up spending more than $2 million on Schiff's behalf. A fair portion of that expense was on mail attacking Boland's carpetbagging and her support of a bill to legalize carrying concealed weapons. At times, Schiff's campaign seemed to mock Boland—a cable TV spot depicted her "moving day" from the San Fernando Valley, packing suitcases with assault weapons, among other things. Boland trumpeted an endorsement by Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, as well as her own well-publicized involvement in the break-up of L.A. Unified School District. Her attacks against Schiff were garden-variety liberal-bashing, questioning Schiff's prosecutorial background and playing up her role as chair of the Assembly Public Safety Committee. Even the anti-crime tack backfired, though. One Boland mailer derided Schiff's "phoney" law enforcement endorsements, even though Boland herself had trumpeted the same endorsements in previous campaigns. The mailer resulted in the resignation of her political consultant and the demotion of a campaign staffer. The *Glendale News Press,* which endorses Democrats about once every blue moon, backed Schiff over Boland, the final blow to a ham-handed effort. Schiff clearly mined the demographic shifts in the area to his advantage, and if those trends continue, he should be well-positioned to hold on to the seat in 2000.

District 23 (53% D - 30% R)

Hayden (D)*	**157,486**	**(59)**
Schreiber (R)	90,339	(34)
Black (L)	6,719	(3)
Swanson (NL)	2,451	(1)
Isaacson (PF)	10,729	(4)

Will he or won't he run for mayor of Los Angeles? That's the main question swirling around Tom Hayden these days. The only mystery in his easy Senate re-election victory is what was on the minds of the 10,000-plus people who voted Peace and Freedom. What, was Tom Hayden too *conservative* for them?

District 25 (71% D - 14% R)

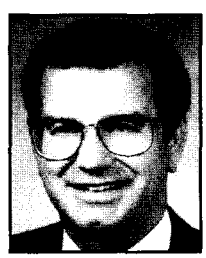
Hughes (D)*	**110,744**	**(82)**
McClain (R)	23,701	(18)

An anti-climactic end to one of the stranger campaigns of the year. Incumbent Democrat Theresa Hughes was thought to be headed for retirement this year, but instead battled with termed-out Assemblyman Curtis Tucker in the Democratic primary. Tucker seemed to have the inside track against an incumbent who had some early trouble raising money and hadn't worked her district as dilligently as some might have thought. Tucker made a tactical mistake, however, when he accepted $50,000 from Senate *Republican* Leader Rob Hurtt. The Hurtt contributions energized labor and education constituencies behind Hughes' campaign, and gave Senate President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer an excuse to steer resources in her direction. Coupled with Tucker's already-suspect dependence on tobacco and gambling money, the controversy helped Hughes beat Tucker going away. She went completely out of sight of Republican Cliff McClain in the general and enters her last term in Sacramento as something of a folk hero in her district's African-American community.

District 27 (47% D - 38% R)

Karnette (D)	**116,144**	**(52)**
Hawkins (R)	109,312	(48)

Karnette


Hawkins

The winner of this year's "I Could've Had A V-8" award for political miscalculation has to be Norwalk conservative Assemblyman Phil Hawkins. Hawkins seemed positioned for a comfortable three terms in the nested 56th Assembly district, having won the seat two years ago after a narrow defeat in 1992. Hawkins, though, wanted to run for termed-out Republican Bob Beverly's Senate seat. At the urging of Senate GOP Leader Rob Hurtt, and despite the gentle importunings of Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle, Hawkins abandoned the Assembly for a shot at the Senate. Almost immediately, he found himself in a fight, first in a modestly

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competitive primary against businessman Frank Colonna. Colonna pumped $100,000 of his own money into the race, and boasted the backing of Long Beach native son George Deukmejian. Hawkins eventually beat Colonna, but former Assemblywoman Betty Karnette had an easier time knocking off Democratic perennial Brian Finander. The grandmotherly Karnette, who narrowly lost her re-election bid in the other nested Assembly seat two years ago, polled well in the early going, thanks to the residual name identification from her wild Assembly race in '94. Some surveys showed her with better name identification even in the half of the district represented by Hawkins. But the Republican had plenty of resources to draw on as the campaign geared up. Long a favorite of the California Independent Business PAC, Hawkins also again received substantial help from the widow of a former business partner. A former teacher, Karnette got help from the California Teachers Association, and virtually every other segment of the traditional Democratic coalition. The contrast between the candidates was obvious — Hawkins comes from his party's conservative wing while Karnette's Assembly voting record was reliably Democratic. Both sought to paint the other as the more extreme of the two, with Karnette hitting Hawkins on guns, choice, tobacco, and his overuse of taxpayer-financed district mailings. Hawkins also suffered a blow when the Downey police officers union withdrew its endorsement, citing his support of concealed weapons. Hawkins hit Karnette on crime and her ties to organized labor, but he seemed to have a little more trouble connecting with voters than Karnette. By most accounts, though, the deciding factor was another well-run consolidated Democratic effort, led as it was in the 21st District by the open checkbook of Senate President Pro Tem Bill Lockyer. The two slugged it out to the finish, as both got tens of thousands in late funding, Karnette from Lockyer and Hawkins from, among others, Governor Pete Wilson. The Democratic surge in the cluster of districts not only helped Karnette win but also swept a Democrat into Hawkins' old Assembly seat. That fact alone would prompt a few swift kicks in the pants from the GOP leadership, but fortunately for them, Hawkins is too busy kicking himself.

District 29 (41% D - 44% R)

Randle (D)	89,544	(41)
Mountjoy (R)*	**126,578**	**(59)**

The Democratic tilt to the election helped Tommy Randle match his party's registration in the district, but he was still no match for immigration hawk Richard Mountjoy. Mountjoy, a staunch supporter of term limits, is on his way to beating Proposition 140's eight-year cap on senators, thanks to the timing of his 1994 special-election victory.

District 31 (39% D - 47% R)

George (D)	96,970	(42)
Brulte (R)	**133,976**	**(58)**

The first seat swap prompted by term limits featured Jim Brulte, a termed-out assemblyman, trading places with Republican Bill Leonard, a termed-out

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senator (see Assembly District 63). Brulte, who as minority leader engineered the Republicans' stunning 1994 capture of the Assembly, spent much of this election season spreading his campaign treasury among fellow Republicans. In the process, he reminded colleagues — both Republican and Democrat — that he is clever, intelligent and resourceful when it comes to the political game — a message that was rammed home to Republicans in the wake of the electoral debacle of 1996. Thus, before his first day as a senator dawned, Brulte already was the one Republican that Democrats will have to reckon with come 1998 and beyond.

District 33 (29% D - 56% R)

Heywood (D)	82,241	(32)
Lewis (R)*	**179,733**	**(68)**

John Lewis, a lawmaker since 1980, is termed out of the Senate in 2000. Any bets on whether he runs for three terms in the Assembly?

District 35 (31% D - 53% R)

Arakelian (D)	94,388	(35)
Johnson (R)*	**166,175**	**(61)**
Adam (NL)	10,821	(4)

Although Republican Ross Johnson breezed to re-election, there is evidence in the entrails of this race just how bad a year it was for Republicans. Here, in the heart of Orange County, yet another Democrat ran ahead of registration. And look at that vote total for the Natural Law candidate.

District 37 (37% D - 46% R)

Schroeder (D)	68,423	(30)
Kelley (R)*	**137,951**	**(61)**
Tello (L)	9,167	(4)
Meuer (NL)	3,996	(2)
Angell (RF)	8,188	(4)

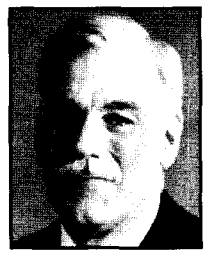
A crowded ballot. A predictable result. Dave Kelley has been a legislator here since 1978, having previously served in the Assembly. This is his final term in the Senate, thanks to term limits.

District 39 (39% D - 40% R)

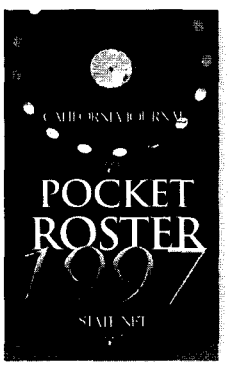
Alpert (D)	**127,378**	**(52)**
Dolphin (R)	111,072	(45)
Knoles (NL)	7,624	(3)

Republicans claim that Deirdre Alpert is woefully out of touch with this San Diego district. They argue that she is against three-strikes, against the death penalty, campaigned against Proposition 187, opposed Proposition 209 and opposes tax cuts. Then, they add — almost as an afterthought — that she personally is popular and well-liked ... and that is tale of this election, as it has been the tale of all of Alpert's elections since she first won a seat in the Assembly back in 1990. When Alpert decided to run for the Senate after being termed out of the Assembly this year, she sought once again to follow in the footsteps of another highly popular woman lawmaker — Lucy Killea, who also was termed out in 1996. Alpert had won Killea's Assembly seat after Killea moved to the Senate in 1989. But the demographics of this district had caused Killea to shed the "D" after her name and become an independent, a route Alpert thus far has eschewed. Republicans sensed a chance to pick up a seat that registration figures indicate ought to belong in their column, and to challenge the formidable Alpert, they chose businessman Joe Dolphin, who pioneered paramedic services in San Diego County and who also serves as president of the state community college board of governors. With two highly competitive Assembly races nested inside this Senate district, and a

Alpert


Dolphin

tough congressional race atop all three, this portion of San Diego became a money pit for both parties. The Senate race alone cost each side in excess of $1 million, with Dolphin coming across with $500,000 from his own pocket. On the surface, Dolphin was thought to have had a good shot at adding this seat to the GOP column. Voter registration cuts his way; Pete Wilson, Dan Lungren and Michael Huffington all carried it in 1994; and Proposition 187 passed here overwhelmingly. Wilson, a former San Diego mayor, gave Dolphin $100,000, then campaigned for him throughout the district, even manning phone banks and sending out a mailer. Wilson also did a television ad that denied Alpert's assertions that she worked with the governor. Mayor Susan Golding also helped, filming a television ad for Dolphin. Although both candidates agreed on many issues, including choice on abortion, Dolphin attacked Alpert's positions on the death penalty, aid to illegal immigrants and affirmative action. For her part, Alpert ran a series of tough commericals, questioning Dolphin's credentials as a businessman and suggesting that he made his fortune at the government trough. The ads were highly negative and marked a departure for Alpert, whose previous campaigns were models of decorum. But the most damage may have been inflicted on Dolphin — as it was on many of his GOP colleagues — by the "R" after his name, and by the fact that voters were comfortable with Alpert despite their frequent disagreements with her on various issues. This was not a year to be a Republican trying to unseat a Democratic incumbent. And although Alpert was not a Senate incumbent, she enjoyed the advantage of incumbency in the minds of local voters who were inclined to preserve the status quo. If they couldn't have Killea, they'd opt for a known quantity who was just like Killea. Alpert had been there, done that; Dolphin was a neophyte.



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assembly

District 1 (50% D - 31% R)

Strom-Martin (D)	**78,352**	**(53)**
Handley (R)	61,403	(42)
Wrench (NL)	7,427	(5)

Strom-Martin

Handley

From the beginning it appeared that Democratic teacher Virginia Strom-Martin was in trouble. Her primary victory over former Assemblyman and Representative Doug Bosco was financed almost wholly by the California Teachers' Association, and she apparently made little progress in boosting her district presence during the summer. Assembly Democrats put her on television close to Labor Day to make sure she was competitive going into the final months. Part of the problem was Strom-Martin's opponent, contractor Margie Handley, who had considerably higher name recognition from previous unsuccessful campaigns and a large bank account of her own. Handley had spent much of the summer roaming the enormous district, going to state fairs and rural towns, and chalking up support even in some Democratic circles. Assembly Democrats poured money into the district in the final weeks, thickening Strom-Martin's bank account by nearly $300,000. This financed a clear resurgence of mail, lawn signs and television ads from the Oregon border south to Sonoma County, touting the Democrat's education credentials and painting the picture of a wealthy Republican who had benefited from affirmative action programs. Handley received nearly as much from assorted GOP sources, including a $75,000 check from Governor Pete Wilson. Democrats began to worry a little when, in the final week, someone began calling registered Democrats and asserting that the party had withdrawn its support for Strom-Martin and congressional candidate Michela Alioto. In the Assembly race, this turned out to be a tactic of desperation. Strom-Martin leaped to an 11-point victory on Election Day, hardly the sign of a campaign on life support. Part of this was attributable to overlap with the big-money effort to unseat GOP Representative Frank Riggs, and a boost in turnout from the lopsided presidential race. But it appears that Democrats still have a tight grasp on this district, despite their early worries.

District 2 (40% D - 45% R)

Growney (D)	60,060	(43)
Woods (R)*	**73,699**	**(53)**
Swain (L)	5,059	(4)

Although this is a solidly conservative, Republican district, Democrats started to talk up their candidate towards the end of the campaign. Rodeo operator John Growney was relatively well known throughout the district for his shows and for being the owner of "Red Rock," a prize bull featured in a recent rodeo movie. He mounted a grass roots-level effort in early months, then came out with a few mailers bashing incumbent Tom Woods towards the end of the campaign, financed by $120,000 in late Democratic money. Woods, helped by loans and contributions from Assemblyman Bernie Richter, ran television ads accusing Growney of supporting hiring quotas, a charge Growney fervently denied. But rodeo fame and the dribbles of Democratic dollars weren't enough to overcome the district's GOP bent, though it may have kept Woods' and Richter's money out of more crucial Republican races. Growney polled a good 10 points higher than Woods' 1994 opponent, but well below what he needed to win.

District 3 (39% D - 44% R)

Perry (D)	53,880	(37)
Richter (R)*	**85,444**	**(61)**

Incumbent Bernie Richter spent his election season conducting farcical committee hearings rooting out affirmative action programs in the state university system.

District 4 (37% D - 48% R)

Young (D)	68,725	(42)
Oller (R)	**93,490**	**(58)**

Deeply conservative businessman Rico Oller ran a high-priced, nasty campaign against primary opponent Kirk Uhler, a Placer County supervisor, and sailed into a safe GOP Assembly seat.

District 5 (41% D - 44% R)

Burke-Trent (D)	54,123	(39)
Alby (R)*	**86,490**	**(62)**

No surprises here. With a clear Republican edge — and a high, generally effective profile as a freshman legislator — Alby, who originally lost the seat to the late B.T. Collins, has maintained a firm hold on her district and easily beat back a challenge from Democrat Eileen Burke-Trent.

District 6 (52% D - 29% R)

Mazzoni (D)*	**102,327**	**(65)**
Crockett (R)	46,055	(29)
Clifford (L)	5,531	(4)
Persily (PF)	3,517	(2)

Republican David Crockett polled just what the district's registration says he should — not enough. We'll make no "wild frontier" jokes this time.

District 7 (54% D - 31% R)

Brown (D)*	**82,234**	**(62)**
Larsen (R)	43,072	(33)
Liner (PF)	1,805	(1)
Barreca (NL)	5,208	(4)

Incumbent Valerie Brown joins the class of soon-to-be termed-out senior members.

District 8 (51% D - 33% R)

Thomson (D)	**70,759**	**(56)**
Schlenker (R)	48,343	(38)
Helbock (L)	7,277	(6)

Thomson

Schlenker

Republican Ed Schlenker, a Solano County supervisor, had some potential. The area has grown slowly less liberal over the course of outgoing Democratic Assemblyman Tom Hannigan's 18 years

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of service, and Schlenker struck the moderate social positions that resonate among the commuter corridor's suburbanites. But the district's Democratic reflexes are still strong, and Schlenker had trouble raising the kind of money he needed to boost his profile. Assembly Republicans kicked in more than $100,000 in late contributions, and Schlenker and his family loaned the campaign another near-$50,000 chunk, but it wasn't enough. Democratic nurse and Yolo County Supervisor Helen Thomson had steadily raised money throughout the campaign, and gave voters no reason not to vote for a Democrat. If the districts demographics continue to edge towards the right, the seat may someday go Republican. Just not this year.

District 9 (62% D - 24% R)

Ortiz (D)	**65,358**	**(65)**
Davis (R)	38,950	(29)
Saunders (NL)	2,380	(2)
Jaye (RF)	3,363	(3)

Sacramento City Councilwoman Deborah Ortiz succeeds termed-out Assemblyman Phil Isenberg in this heavily Democratic Sacramento district. Ortiz weathered a nasty primary against Sacramento County Supervisor Roger Dickinson, who effectively shot himself in the foot with an 11th-hour mailer claiming that the state had filed a lien against Ortiz for unpaid taxes — which turned out to be wrong. Then, adding insult to injury, Dickinson failed to apologize, earning much negative press.

District 10 (44% D - 43% R)

Moretti (D)	66,600	(45)
Bowler (R)*	**72,322**	**(49)**
Phillips (RF)	9,188	(6)

The race between incumbent Larry Bowler and challenger Matt Morretti — a political newcomer who benefited from the name of his late father, Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti — became something of a surprise cliff-hanger on election night, following several days of intense attack campaigning and a $50,000 cash infusion to Moretti for TV ads financed in large measure by the Police Officers Research Association of California (PORAC). The ads hit Bowler, a former Sacramento sheriff's lieutenant, where it hurt — questioning his concern for the families of slain police officers, by featuring the wife and young children of a Roseville police officer who was accidentally killed by another officer when a gunman entered the department last year. The widow said Bowler had reneged on a promise to vote for an override of a veto by Governor Pete Wilson of a measure to provide survivor benefits to individuals who remarry after the death of a spouse employed by local government. Bowler, who said he supported a narrower measure for families of peace officers, which was signed by the governor, even went on TV himself in a last-minute response ad, indignantly denying the charges but looking a tad defensive. The close vote shows Bowler's vulnerability (this is his last term)after a series of policy missteps and verbal gaffes which prompted the *Sacramento Bee* to call him "a bully, a buffoon and an embarrassment" in an editorial endorsing Moretti.

District 11 (53% D - 30% R)

Torlakson (D)	**76,434**	**(60)**
Maxfield (R)	39,040	(31)
Sheppard (NL)	11,610	(9)

With Sacramento consultant Gale Kaufman at his back, Contra Costa County Supervisor Tom Torlakson marked a come-from-behind primary victory against George Miller, son of the congressman. November was clear sailing.

District 12 (59% D - 18% R)

Shelley (D)	**84,513**	**(78)**
Faulkner (R)	23,722	(22)

San Francisco Board of Supervisors President Kevin Shelley put his experience on one of the most contentious governing bodies around to good use even before all the votes were counted, joining fellow Bay Area representatives to lobby for a Cruz Bustamante speakership. The quick moves will earn him a position as caucus chairman.

District 13 (63% D - 14% R)

Migden (D)*	**104,326**	**(100)**

Carole Migden had no opponent, and a quarter-million dollars to spend. She put it to good use, bolstering other campaigns and her own prospects in the new Democratic caucus majority. I n the days after Election Day, she got on the phone to persuade other members to vote for Cruz Bustamante for caucus leader, earning herself the coveted chair of the Appropriations Committee. Not bad for someone who's only been in Sacramento a few months.

District 14 (68% D - 11% R)

Aroner (D)	**82,878**	**(66)**
Muir (R)	26,308	(21)
Chapot (G)	11,910	(10)
Beeson (NL)	3,826	(3)

Democrat Dion Aroner, an aide to outgoing Assemblyman Tom Bates, polled beneath Democratic registration, but the figure probably is more an indication of liberal Berkeleyites' dissatisfaction with Bill Clinton's center-right positioning than any critique of Aroner herself, though both Republican professor Sandy Muir and Green Party candidate Hank Chapot scored far above registration. The real question is what happens if Bates wins his ongoing court battle against legislative term limits. Does Bates run again? Would Aroner step aside? Stay tuned for these and more exciting developments.

District 15 (38% D - 47% R)

Murray (D)	85,706	(48)
Leach (R)	**86,655**	**(49)**
Sproul (NL)	4,913	(3)

Murray

Leach

On Election Day, Democrat Gail Murray finished ahead by 20 votes. It was the electoral equivalent of a photo finish, making it impossible to call a winner until every absentee ballot was counted. Murray's wafer-thin Election Day lead came close to being the state's biggest upset of the year. This is not a good district for Democrats; while both Bill Clinton and Barbara Boxer did win this district in 1992, almost all other major GOP candidates have won since the beginning of the decade. The district is far from a blind GOP vote, but the Assembly seat itself has been represented by a Republican all through recent history. Murray also had early problems making the case for her campaign in Sacramento. While widely recognized as a strong candidate, she had no particular sponsor on the hydra-headed Democratic electoral team, and thus lost ground to other marginal candidates. And Republican businesswoman Lynne Leach had the support of

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the deep-pocketed California Independent Business PAC, which promised to make any Democratic effort expensive. But a few weeks away from Election Day, Murray emerged with Democratic polls showing her drawing even with Leach. The surprise finding apparently was the result of the Democrat's tireless grass-roots efforts, focus on house parties and stance on a controversial local landfill issue — and a piggyback on the mint being spent in the overlapping state Senate and congressional districts painting Assemblyman Richard Rainey and Representative Bill Baker as extremists. The poll numbers set Democratic money flowing, as close to $300,000 in party funds poured into Murray's campaign in the final weeks. Republicans, who apparently still believed the district's registration advantage was too high to necessitate an all-out defense, didn't match the effort. Murray painted Leach as an ultra-conservative who supported school vouchers and opposed assault-weapons bans, and touted herself as a pro-public education moderate. A dozen Democratic party mailers repeated the message, with variations. Both campaigns sent out hit pieces on the other's business accounting record that proved to contain false information, apparently a result of poor opposition research. Many observers say that Murray was particularly helped by Democrat Ellen Tauscher's $2 million effort to peel moderate Republicans, particularly women, away from Baker. On Election Day, the Democrat ran 10 points ahead of registration, while Leach barely broke even — but more than enough absentee ballots broke for Leach. But Murray's Election Day victory still will represent a spectacular demonstration that neither party can take even strong registration advantages for granted.

District 16 (66% D - 14% R)

Perata (D)	**75,680**	**(79)**
Acosta (R)	20,750	(22)

Alameda County Supervisor and ex-Oakland Raiders rainmaker Don Perata already has become a force to be reckoned with in the Assembly. He raised close to $400,000 for other Democratic campaigns, aligned himself with Cruz Bustamante's leadership bid, and appears set to be chair of the powerful Rules Committee.

District 17 (52% D - 37% R)

Machado (D)*	**50,944**	**(52)**
Minnick (R)	43,750	(45)
Kohlhepp (L)	3,267	(3)

Machado

Minnick

The previously sleepy Central Valley seems to have had more than its share of negative campaigning this election season, and the campaigns of incumbent Mike Machado and challenger Sylvia Sun Minnick were no exception. In the final days of the campaign, Machado dispatched a mailer delaring that Minnick had voted against a $1 million gang-prevention program while on the Stockton City Council. Only problem: she voted for it, after first pushing the wrong voting button — which Machado's researchers apparently didn't know. The mailer also used what Machado campaign staffers called "stock gang graffiti," including a skull and crossbones and the initials "SM," which Minnick took to be her own. She got a lot of media mileage off an indignant press conference, and, after dealing with the fallout, the Machado folks probably wished they'd never *seen* the mailer, but the whole affair pointed up the general nastiness of the campaign. Minnick was outspent by more than two to one by Machado, who raised some $400,000, including major infusions of Democratic U.S. Senatorial Campaign cash in the final weeks. Machado had successfully beaten back an abortive GOP-led recall campaign last year in a district which — while it has a Democratic registration edge — is also home to the notoriously conservative Rep. Richard Pombo (R-Tracy) and tends to vote in the tradition of "Valley Democrats."

District 18 (58% D - 25% R)

Sweeney (D)*	**82,935**	**(100)**

True campaign aficionados can see the beauty even in such a campaign as this. The subtle electoral positioning, the quiet appeals to voters' finer instincts, the perverse inevitability of it all...

District 19 (54% D - 28% R)

Papan (D)	**65,259**	**(56)**
Tucker (R)	43,244	(37)
Marks (NL)	8,103	(7)

Brace yourselves, Sacramentans. The man known as "the enforcer" is tuning up for a return engagement in the Assembly. Lou Papan was chairman of the Rules Committee during the 1980s, and his nickname was well-earned. Perhaps that's why Republican James Tucker was endorsed by the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

District 20 (48% D - 32% R)

Figueroa (D)*	**64,601**	**(62)**
Smith (R)	40,186	(38)

Incumbent Democrat Liz Figueroa slides painlessly to a second term, this time as member of a majority caucus.

District 21 (48% D - 34% R)

Lempert (D)	**82,043**	**(61)**
Laliotis (R)	45,603	(34)
Inama (L)	2,729	(2)

Ex-Assemblyman Ted Lempert had a quiet campaign season. While Republican Ted Laliotis, a Los Altos city councilman, fit the region's proven moderate ideological mold, he lacked the political base or connections to fire up a competitive campaign.

District 22 (48% D - 32% R)

Alquist (D)	**67,504**	**(61)**
Dowdy (R)	39,624	(36)
Strutner (NL)	4,365	(4)

Republican college trustee Karin Dowdy has been making bids for this seat for several years. While her odds against longtime legislator John Vasconcellos were always slim to none, she had a ghost of a chance against Democratic newcomer Elaine White Alquist, the wife of outgoing state Senator Al Alquist. But the Democrat left nothing to chance, far outstripping Dowdy's fund raising and winning most of the key district endorsements. By the time polls had closed, Dowdy remained nearly eight points below her 1994 high-water mark.

District 23 (59% D - 23% R)

Honda (D)	**49,945**	**(74)**
Sutton (R)	17,851	(26)

Mike Honda succeeded in a bruising four-way March primary, and cruised through the November balloting.

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District 24 (43% D - 40% R)

Foglia (D)	53,398	(40)
Cunneen (R)*	**73,107**	**(55)**
Petersen (L)	6,425	(5)

The death knell for former California Teachers' Association president Ed Foglia came early in the primary season, when the CTA endorsed incumbent Republican Jim Cunneen. Foglia had come within a few points of beating Cunneen in 1994, but the Republican proved to be one of the few voices of moderation in the conservative GOP majority, and a good friend both to education interests and to Silicon Valley high-tech business. With all these cards in Cunneen's hand, Foglia folded before the primary, withdrawing from the race and citing health reasons. But even without a campaign, the Democrat polled nearly as well as Cunneen in the March primary. His health problems behind him, and under heavy persuasion by Assembly Democrats, Foglia reentered the race. But Cunneen's advantages and popularity remained, and the Democratic campaign never developed the financial or popular momentum it needed. Cunneen now returns to a minority caucus in which his moderate voice is even more isolated than before the election.

District 25 (44% D - 43% R)

Elliott (D)	48,920	(38)
House (R)*	**74,401**	**(59)**
Payne (L)	4,063	(3)

Despite concerns about his extreme right-wing views and a spirited, reasonably well-financed challenge from optometrist Ed Elliott, 67-year-old incumbent George House, a retired CHP officer, skated into a second term in this conservative, increasingly Republican district. Elliott raised more than $200,000 including $30,000 from the California Optometric Association — roughly matching House's fund-raising, which included numerous individual and business contributions and more than $20,000 from Curt Pringle's Assembly Republican Victory Fund. House won the seat from a Democratic incumbent in the 1994 Republican landslide, despite an 8 percent Democratic registration edge, which has since shrunk to 1 percent. His folksy "traditional values" approach is popular with many voters, though others are troubled by his talk about "shadow governments" and "media conspiracies."

District 26 (52% D - 35% R)

Cardoza (D)*	**46,214**	**(50)**
Berryhill (R)	46,167	(50)

A major cliff-hanger in the Democratic takeover of the Assembly, too close to call until the absentees are counted, this bruising campaign for the open seat of termed-out Democrat Sal Cannella was replete with negative attack ads on both sides, and spending for both is expected to well exceed $1 million when the final tally is in. Heavily targeted by both Republicans and Democrats, with big cash infusions in the final weeks of the campaign from both parties, the race featured political neophyte Tom Berryhill, who enjoyed the enormous reverence — and name identification — accorded his late father, former state Agriculture director Clare Berryhill, and Dennis Cardoza, a former Atwater and Merced city councilman and businessman with family and business ties that go as far back as his opponent's. Berryhill was politically inexperienced as well as saddled with a history of business failures which were the subject of some hard-hitting Cardoza ads pointing out a 1993 bankruptcy, failure to pay property taxes and a lawsuit for breach of contract. By the same token, Cardoza had his liabilities, including a nasty primary fight and a very public dispute over money with his former campaign manager, as well as embarrassing stories about female mud-wrestling as a regular (though long since discontinued) feature at the Cardoza family-owned bowling alley. Republican heavyweights made regular forays to raise money for Berryhill in the district, and Cardoza enjoyed the backing of his former boss, popular Ceres Congressman Gary Condit.

District 27 (51% D - 30% R)

Keeley (D)	**75,244**	**(57)**
Davis (R)	49,523	(38)
McCarthy (NL)	6,817	(5)

This left-leaning Santa Cruz district was the single seat that even Republicans conceded they would lose from the get-go.Vacated by the moderate Republican Bruce McPherson, the district's natural Democratic leanings made Santa Cruz County Supervisor Fred Keeley a shoo-in. Monterey County Deputy District Attorney Jim Davis was a good candidate, with much the same moderate philosophy as McPherson, but it takes more than just being right on the issues for a Republican to win here.

District 28 (53% D - 32% R)

Cervantes (D)	48,845	(47)
Frusetta (R)*	**50,791**	**(49)**
Hinkle (L)	3,826	(4)

Cervantes

Frusetta

From the time the echoes of 1994's closing shots died away, it was clear that this race was going to be a doozy. A must-hold for the Republicans if they wanted to retain control of the Assembly incumbent Peter Frusetta was widely viewed as one of the caucus' weakest links. He had edged then-coastal commissioner Lily Cervantes by only a few hundred votes in the best Republican year in memory, and when this year's Democratic primary fight spat out a rematch — this time featuring Cervantes as an assistant district attorney — Frusetta's re-election odds fell to no better than even. The district's numbers favored Cervantes: Democratic candidates up and down the ticket have historically won, Democratic registration is naturally strong, and a Latino registration push had added several thousand potential Cervantes backers to the voter rolls since 1994. But Cervantes had her own problems, including a poor ability to raise funds on her own and a reputation among Democratic activists for having blown the 1994 election by taking it for granted. Frusetta salted the district early with a barrage of taxpayer-funded Assembly caucus mailers touting his accomplishments. Cervantes jumped on these, blasting the incumbent for wasting constituents' money. She focused on Frusetta's conservative voting record, passing out bottles of spring water with a Cervantes label to underscore the incumbent's vote for less restrictive clean water regulations. But as in 1994, the Democrat needed to keep all of her own party's voters on board, and once again her failure to do so lost the race. Throughout his term, Frusetta has maintained a folksy, non-politician image, which Cervantes was unable to sufficiently undercut. While the Democrat had the advantage of a large district Latino population — close to half of all registered

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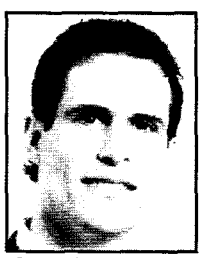
voters, though with a history of low voter turnout — Frusetta kept the staunch loyalty of a large Swiss-Italian community. The incumbent's margin of victory still was small, but enough to make him one of the year's only GOP success stories in a marginal, targeted district.

District 29 (40% D - 47% R)		
McGonigle (D)	31,692	(27)
Poochigian (R)*	**78,895**	**(68)**
Adalian (NL)	5,675	(5)

Named one of two "Rookies of the Year" by the *California Journal,* incumbent Charles "Chuck" Poochigian easily won re-election over Mike McGonigle. Facing insignificant opposition, the highly regarded Poochigian used his well-stocked campaign war chest to help other GOP candidates, but lost his coveted chair of the powerful Appropriations Committee when control of the lower house went to the Democrats.

District 30 (52% D - 36% R)		
Prenter (R)	**36,474**	**(61)**
Setencich (R)*	26,236	(39)

Prenter



Setencich

The odds of a one-person ballot stirring up such intense interest are rare, but the controversy was not so much who was *on* the ballot as who wasn't — former Speaker Brian Setencich. The popular Fresno maverick Republican lost the primary then chose to wage a seriously underdog write-in campaign, the results of which were unknown at press time. Setencich earned GOP ire last year when he first supported, then succeeded, recalled Republican Doris Allen as speaker, gaining the honor with Democratic votes. High on the GOP revenge list, Setencich nonetheless was far too complacent about his primary — a miscalculation that cost both him and the Democrats, who failed to field a candidate, relying instead on their alliance with Setencich. But Setencich was blindsided by Robert Prenter, who parlayed $230,000 from the California Independent Business PAC into an upset. The CIBPAC was co-founded by Senate Minority Leader Rob Hurtt and four other Orange County businessmen, including Edward Atsinger III — who just happens to be Prenter's uncle. After the primary, Setencich dithered publicly about whether to challenge Prenter in the fall via a write-in campaign, eventually taking the plunge. Republicans, meanwhile, sought to shore up Prenter's less-than-formidable credentials with an infusion of cash; $400,000 prior to September 30th alone; with more chucked in as the campaign reached the final weeks. Governor Pete Wilson chipped in with $40,000 and campaigned for Prenter. Setencich had money left over from his primary — evidence of just how inept his effort had been — and continued to get more from traditional Democratic allies such

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as the California Teachers' Association and other labor groups. The strange race became even stranger in mid-October when another would-be write-in candidate with the oddly similar name of Brian Steiner declared his candidacy. Setencich cried foul, but Steiner — a Pepsi Cola truck driver — failed to qualify. Setencich went after Prenter for his Orange County roots, branding him a carpetbagger. He also hammered Prenter in TV ads for his admission to a reporter that he had smoked marijuana in the '70s. Although polls reportedly continued to reflect Setencich's popularity in the district, a write-in campaign is very difficult to wage. Some Democratic observers thought that Setencich had a chance to win if Prenter failed to collect 35,000 votes on Election Day — an event that came to pass. But with thousands of absentee ballots to be counted, and with lawyers from both sides checking the signatures on every write-in and absentee ballot, the final tally will did not go the incumbent's way.

District 31 (58% D - 30% R)

Bustamante (D)*	**35,182**	**(63)**
Short (R)	17,088	(31)

Incumbent Cruz Bustamante's biggest victory did not occur on Election Day, when his Central Valley constituency sent him back to the Assembly for the third and final time. No, Bustamante's biggest victory occurred two days *after* the election, when it became clear that Democrats had regained a majority in the lower house — and when his fellow Democrats selected him to lead the caucus. This should make Bustamante the new speaker when the Assembly convenes for the first time in early December — the first Latino to reach that exalted position.

District 32 (39% D - 49% R)

Hulpke (D)	34,015	(30)
Ashburn (R)	**76,623**	**(67)**
Zinn (L)	3,974	(3)

Kern County Supervisor Roy Ashburn cruised to victory. But is he as colorful as his predecessor — Trice Harvey?

District 33 (40% D - 44% R)

Sanders (D)	44,857	(36)
Bordonaro (R)*	**70,605**	**(57)**
Kirkland (L)	4,590	(4)
Baker (NL)	3,288	(3)

The single wheelchair-bound member of the Assembly rolls back.

District 34 (36% D - 47% R)

Dew (D)	38,130	(35)
Olberg (R)*	**70,635**	**(65)**

Freshman Keith Olberg spent his campaign kitty and his energies helping to elect other Republicans. Win some, lose some.

District 35 (44% D - 37% R)

Lele (D)	39,445	(30)
Firestone (R)*	**85,319**	**(65)**
Hospodar (NL)	6,515	(5)

The numbers look good here for Democrats, but vintner and tire-money heir Brooks Firestone, one of the few moderates left in the GOP caucus, fits the district well.

District 36 (35% D - 50% R)

Cochran (D)	40,065	(36)
Runner (R)	**71,133**	**(64)**

This Antelope Valley enclave is the closest thing to a redneck district that exists in Los Angeles County. They love their conservatives, and they will get one in former Lancaster mayor George Runner. Runner outran two competitive primary foes with a campaign that focused on his support for school vouchers and opposition to gun control. Runner was the only Republican to be formally endorsed in the primary by Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle, and he no doubt would have been in line for some good committee assignments had the GOP retained the majority.

District 37 (40% D - 43% R)

Herrera (D)	42,519	(42)
Takasugi (R)*	**59,404**	**(58)**

For some curious reason, Democratic money made its way into this race, benefitting their candidate, Jess Herrera. It's hard to imagine the Assembly Democrats having any money to spare on a district this bad, and it clearly went down the drain, as incumbent Nao Takasugi easily heads back to Sacramento for his third, and final, term in the Assembly.

District 38 (39% D - 45% R)

Lauritzen (D)	46,497	(41)
McClintock (R)	**62,946**	**(55)**
Neuman (NL)	5,498	(5)

After unsuccessfully trying to peddle himself as a congressman and a state controller, neo-libertarian budget hawk Tom McClintock returns to the state Legislature to needle friend and foe alike about the state's chronic fiscal problems. During his first tour of duty in Sacramento in the late '80s and into the '90s, McClintock was Sacramento's version of the "crazy aunt in the cellar," calculating the effect every pencil purchase would have on the average family of four. After losing to Tony Beilenson in a 1992 congressional race and Kathleen Connell in the '94 controller campaign, McClintock was invited by GOP regulars to run for termed-out Assemblywoman Paula Boland's seat, and he annouced on deadline day for filing. Only one of the six announced candidates made way for McClintock, and he weathered persistent attacks for having moved from Sacramento into a district only a sliver of which he represented his first time through. Still, the new Democratic leadership can expect to find themselves with "spreadsheet shock" come budget time as long as the GOP's resident budget wonk is gadflying around.

District 39 (62% D - 24% R)

Cardenas (D)	**38,424**	**(72)**
McCaulley (R)	15,109	(28)

Real estate broker Tony Cardenas was "Job One" for the Legislature's Latino caucus. Bright, youthful, and politically pragmatic, Cardenas won a surprisingly convincing primary victory in a field of six Democrats vying for the seat of outgoing Assembly Minority Leader Richard Katz. While he downplayed his ties to the Latino caucus during the campaign, Cardenas' victory was an important one for incoming Assembly Speaker Cruz Bustamante, who was a prominent behind-the-scenes player in the race.

District 40 (55% D - 29% R)

Hertzberg (D)	**47,843**	**(59)**
Culver (R)	24,579	(31)
Ross (L)	6,444	(8)
Cossak (NL)	1,755	(2)

Sherman Oaks attorney Bob Hertzberg's November campaign was not nearly so important to himself as it was to other Democrats around the state. A veteran Democratic Party fund raiser and organizer, Hertzberg used the period after winning a modestly competitive primary to build a sizable campaign war chest. With only token opposition in the fall campaign, he coughed up more than $100,000 into the communal coffers, and distributed a little more to favorite candidates on the side. In a business where clout often seems to follow money, Hertzberg has built a few

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chits which could stand him in good stead when it comes time to pass out committee assignments.

District 41 (49% D - 35% R)

Kuehl (D)*	**78,024**	**(56)**
Benhard (R)	52,078	(37)
Baron (L)	3,481	(2)
Small (NL)	1,907	(1)
Honigsfeld (PF)	4,115	(3)

A classic case of being a little too clever by half, the GOP squandered a modest amount of time and resources in the vain hope of diverting some of the Democrats' often-scarce resources. Businessman Mark Boos Benhard was holding fund raisers (including one headlined by Attorney General Dan Lungren) and receiving occasional $10,000 chunks of money right up to the end...the dead end. Incumbent Sheila Kuehl, a domestic-law attorney and former television actress, may be the smartest person in the Capitol. But apparently, some Republicans just couldn't resist going after an open lesbian representing a sub-50 percent Democratic district, even though that district supported Dianne Feinstein in 1994 and Barbara Boxer in 1992 by 22 and 18 points respectively. Kuehl briefly pursued the new speakership when it became clear Democrats would be in the majority, but she stepped aside when it became clear Bustamante had the votes. She will, nonetheless, be a potent voice for the party's liberal wing in the coming session.

District 42 (57% D - 24% R)

Knox (D)*	**79,419**	**(66)**
Ross (R)	33,517	(28)
Fine (L)	5,222	(4)
Paul (NL)	2,010	(2)

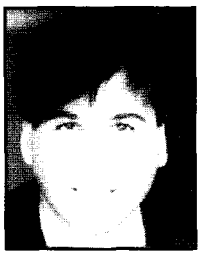
Another political deal-maker with his eyes on leadership, incumbent Wally Knox also spread the wealth around during the fall campaign. His maneuvering was not hampered by problems in the district, but there is some question as to whether he will have the same behind-the-scenes strategic role in a Bustamante leadership that he enjoyed under Richard Katz.

District 43 (45% D - 39% R)

Wildman (D)	**48,213**	**(48)**
Geranios (R)	48,045	(48)
Michlin (L)	3,260	(4)

The race to replace upward-moving incumbent James Rogan was one of two competitive Assembly seats nested within the monumentally competitive

Wildman



Geranios

21st Senate District. Even though an incumbent was felled in the other nested race (see District 44), the result in this contest was significantly more surprising. Although he carpetbagged in from Palo Alto, businessman John Geranios seemed destined to take a seat previously held by ultra-conservative Pat Nolan. Geranios' most impressive qualification: a deep well of personal wealth, which he tapped to the tune of nearly half a million dollars in the primary. Unfortunately for Geranios, there was no shortage of somewhat more homegrown talent with their eyes on Rogan's seat, and he was forced to spend heavily to beat back his opponents. Some of them were slow to forgive him for poaching in their territory and one prominent Glendale Republican went so far as to endorse Geranios' Democratic opponent, teachers union organizer Scott Wildman. Wildman, who had no primary opposition, boasted a who's who list of Democratic backers, a fact about which he was hammered in the mail. One Geranios mailer called attention to the fund-raising "party" held for Wildman by "San Francisco liberals" John Burton and Carole Migden. Geranios also tweaked Wildman for claiming to be a teacher and a businessman, although he hadn't been either for some time. All this would figure to be raw meat in a district that elected Pat Nolan, but this is hardly Nolan's 43rd. When first drawn in 1991, the district was 45-42 Republican. This year, it was 45-39 Democratic. The new demographics include a heavy concentration of renters, whose concerns were different from those of the upper-middle class homeowners who formed Nolan's base. Wildman hit Geranios hard on guns, education, and the environment, but his campaign appeared to be doomed by a chronic lack of money that kept him struggling to stay afloat. Fortunately for Wildman, the GOP didn't finish him off, and when crunch time came three weeks out, Wildman was still within striking range. As Democratic coffers got suddenly fat in the last few weeks, late money started pouring in from the usual Democratic sources. Wildman also benefitted greatly from the coordinated party effort undertaken in this cluster of competitive races. Geranios got some late cash as well, though, and Republicans claim it was only a late Democratic surge that nudged Wildman ahead on election day. Since a few thousand absentees remain to be counted, Wildman's victory is not assured, but even a narrow defeat is bad news for the GOP in a region they had long viewed as their own.

District 44 (45% D - 40% R)

Scott (D)	**65,034**	**(53)**
Hoge (R)*	53,349	(44)
Brown (L)	3,928	(3)

Scott

Hoge

When all the Election Day votes had been tallied, the lone Assembly incumbent to be unseated in 1996 was Altadena Republican Bill Hoge. There are those in both parties who suggest it couldn't have happened to a nicer guy. Hoge, perennially vulnerable because of his ties to gambling interests and a spate of bad publicity, won an anemic victory his first time out in 1992, then weathered a surprisingly tepid Democratic challenge two years ago. Senate Republican Leader Rob Hurtt tried to induce the very conservative Hoge to run for the Senate seat of termed-out Glendale Republican Newton Russell, but Hoge thought it would be safer to run for reelection to the Assembly. Bad move. Democrats fielded an imposing challenger in former Pasadena City College President Jack Scott. A Texas native with drawl to match, Scott had local name ID, a compelling personal saga, a winning persona, and the ability to raise lots of money on his own. All four talents came into play, as he was able to keep mailboxes full even as other Democratic campaign funds were drying up in the early autumn months. Scott's campaign supplemented the attacks on Hoge's gaming ties with portrayals of him as a waster of taxpayer

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funds. The fodder for these attacks were newspaper reports of a substantial, retroactive raise which was given to a district staffer who had loaned Hoge $10,000. Hoge got more bad press when his name appeared among those Republicans who'd sent out a ton of mailers at taxpayers' expense. Scott's main policy attacks centered on Hoge's support for concealed weapons, an issue on which he had personal credibility, having lost a 27-year-old son to a gun accident. Like the adjacent 43rd, the demographic trend is moving the Democrats' way, and the gun issue played well, as it did in other parts of the state. Hoge's campaign sought to paint Scott as a closet liberal. One early mailer sought a conservative "two-fer" by suggesting that Scott, in his capacity as PCCC president, tried to use affirmative action to help illegal immigrants. The hits just didn't stick as the challenger's down-to-earth demeanor was a known commodity, especially in his base of Pasadena. Scott also benefited from the coordinated ground and issue strategy in the Glendale/Pasadena cluster. By most accounts, though, a man with Hoge's many negatives is always living on borrowed time. With his national party beating the "ethics in government" drum, Hoge's own constituents took stock of their man and found him wanting.

District 45 (62% D - 19% R)

Villaraigosa (D)*	**36,646**	**(78)**
Gomez (PF)	10,203	(22)

A smooth-talking liberal who's taken some hard lessons on the job, Antonio Villaraigosa is one of a cadre of Democrats who see themselves one day occupying the speaker's chair. His very liberal politics may keep him from reaching that goal, but it won't be because of any vulnerability in his district. Turnout in the heavily-Latino East Los Angeles district was off 13 percent from the last presidential election in 1992, suggesting that the oft-predicted surge in Latino voting is still slow to materialize.

District 46 (65% D - 18% R)

Caldera (D)*	**20,513**	**(79)**
Kim (R)	5,622	(22)

Two-term incumbent Louis Caldera may be moderate by the standards of his caucus in Sacramento, but Democrats don't lose to Republicans in this district, no matter how moderate they are.

District 47 (73% D - 13% R)

Murray (D)*	**79,748**	**(80)**
Leonard (R)	15,701	(16)
Weber (L)	3,914	(4)

Freshman Democrat Kevin Murray was one of three members of his family who sought office this year, but he was the only one left standing after the March primary. A political animal from his earliest days, Murray spent a lot of time helping his father Willard's congressional campaign and his sister Melinda's race in the 52nd Assembly district. They lost, but Kevin will once again be working the hallways and backrooms in Sacramento next year.

District 48 (82% D - 5% R)

Wright (D)	**42,882**	**(100)**

A boisterous primary to replace term-limited Assemblywoman Marguerite Archie-Hudson ended with a muscular win for Rod Wright, district aide to

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area Representative Maxine Waters. Waters burned up telephone lines from Washington on Wright's behalf, helping him to 52 percent of the vote in a seven-person primary. Wright's reward for all the work was a triple-digit victory in the general.

District 49 (59% D - 24% R)

Martinez (D)*	**45,459**	**(70)**
Imperial (R)	19,846	(30)

Two-termer Diane Martinez, the daughter of U.S. Representative Marty Martinez, won high marks this year for her role in helping to draft the landmark electricity deregulation bill. For many, it was the first time they'd heard "constructive" and "Diane Martinez" in the same sentence.

District 50 (68% D - 17% R)

Escutia (D)*	**32,771**	**(83)**
Miller (R)	6,651	(17)

Well-liked both at home and in Sacramento, two-term incumbent Martha Escutia endured nary a ripple on her way to a third, and final, term in the Assembly.

District 51 (68% D - 17% R)

Vincent (D)	**54,350**	**(74)**
Clarke (R)	19,580	(26)

Well-funded Inglewood mayor Ed Vincent faced a well-known name in the primary when he ran against Mark Dymally, son of former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally. When the dust settled, however, Dymally was third, finishing behind Vincent and Thomasina Reed. The primary was one of several in which the entrenched African-American power structure led by Maxine Waters had its territory poached by contributions from Latino power brokers like Senator Richard Polanco. All the money in the world might not have mattered, as the Dymally "machine" is only a shell of its former self. Everyone came together in the general, as Vincent swept to an easy win over token GOP opposition.

District 52 (75% D - 11% R)

Washington (D)	**48,731**	**(85)**
Pullen-Miles (R)	8,636	(15)

The primary in this Compton-centered district was another face-off between a candidate backed by Latino leaders and one backed by the Waters operation. In this case, the Waters candidate was Melinda Murray, sister of Kevin and daughter of Willard. Murray found herself facing a formidable opponent in ordained minister Carl Washington. Washington, an aide to Los Angeles Supervisor Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, enjoyed substantial help from his influential boss, as well as discrete assistance from future speaker Cruz Bustamante. Combined with his own ties in the district, Washington handled Murray and two other contenders with relative ease. He completed his road to Sacramento with a massive win over Republican Robert Pullen-Miles.

District 53 (42% D - 40% R)

Bowen (D)*	**80,947**	**(58)**
Walker (R)	58,544	(42)

It seems strange to say it about an incumbent who regularly faces tough campaigns, but Debra Bowen has lived, and continues to live, a charmed political life. The Marina del Rey attorney won this Republican-leaning coastal seat in 1992 when the GOP nominated ultra-

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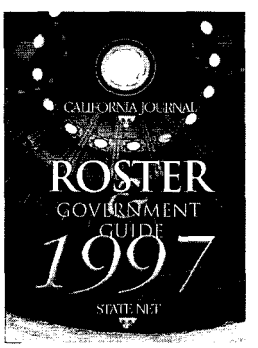

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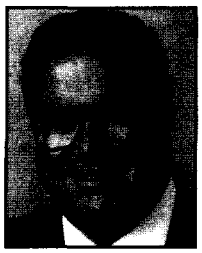
Bowen


Walker

conservative Brad Parton. Two years later, Bowen was held to 51 percent of the vote by an unknown whose campaign treasury could barely buy an all-day bus transfer. This year, Republican party poobahs went "Bowen hunting" with a vengeance, conscripting carpetbagging millionaire John Morris as their annointed choice. Morris, the heir to the Mervyns department store fortune, salted his own campaign with a mint of personal money, but the GOP forgot to clear the field for him. A solid fund-raiser in his own right, Torrance councilman Dan Walker kept the post office busy with mailers attacking Morris' carpetbagging and past contributions to Democrats. With name ID gleaned from a long career on the Torrance council, Walker beat Morris by 10 points. For Bowen, Walker's victory was like a reprieve from the governor, since it meant she would not have to match mailers with a bottomless money pit. Of course, it also meant she would face a proven giant killer in Walker who had earned a reputation for independence by repudiating Parton's right-wing politics in the '92 campaign. Bowen's own reputation for independence was put immediately to the test, as Walker attacked her for talking like a maverick but voting like a partisan. One mailer zeroed in on Bowen's lone "no" vote on a bill to toughen penalties for church arson, a vote Bowen insisted was a "mistake." But Walker had a voting record, too, from years on the Torrance council. Bowen sought to tie some environmental votes to contributions Walker received from a waste firm whose practices were the target of criminal investigation. It was something of a role reversal for the GOP—the Republican challenger was the one defending his record in public service, while the Democratic incumbent was attacking her opponent as a career politician. The tactic appeared to favor Bowen in a district which has a 13 percent "Decline To State" registration. As one of the Assembly Democrats' top ten targeted races, Bowen was fully financed from pole to pole, and she also benefitted from the attention focused on the Jane Harman's congressional reelection campaign. Like Harman, Bowen was helped by an overwhelming advantage among Democratic and moderate Republican women, who deserted in substantial numbers in 1994, but appeared to return in 1996. In fact, voters here seem to have shown an affinity for female candidates, supporting both Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer as well as Bowen and Harman. Some sizeable infusions of late cash from Governor Wilson and other GOP leaders did little to change the result. Walker's attacks never gained any traction and Bowen earned her largest margin of victory yet—16 points. With Bowen's Senator, Ralph Dills, term-limited out of office in 1998, a Senate run seems almost assured. The 51 percent Democratic registration in that seat may not be the most secure in the world, but for Bowen it'll be paradise compared with competing in a 42 percent district.

District 54 (45% D - 40% R)

Schipske (D)	59,418	(50)
Kuykendall (R)*	**60,326**	**(50)**

Schipske

Kuykendall

Two years ago, affable insurance man Steve Kuykendall won a paper-thin victory over incumbent Democrat Betty Karnette with the help of an eleventh-hour $125,000 contribution from tobacco giant Philip Morris. This year, that single contribution very nearly cost Kuykendall his hard-won seat. In a race where tobacco was the central issue, Kuykendall narrowly survived the challenge of registered nurse Gerrie Schipske. Schipske, who was a past president of the Long Beach City College board of trustees, earned her shot at Kuykendall after weathering an unexpectedly-nasty primary in which her open lesbianism was the focus of late-breaking attack mailers. Interestingly, Schipske's sexual orientation didn't become an issue against Republican Kuykendall, who chose liberalism over lesbianism as the focus of his attacks. But it was Schipske, by and large, who was on the offensive, and cigarettes were her weapon. She took to handing out "tobacco cash withdrawal pills" to mock Kuykendall's campaign-saving contribution, and she accused Kuykendall of returning the favor by supporting legislation which reduced the criminal penalties against retailers who sell tobacco to minors. A summertime article in *The Economist* about tobacco-industry political influence spotlighted the Schipske-Kuykendall contest and the 1994 Philip Morris donation. She also got a boost from revelations that Kuykendall had mailed out more than 400,000 publicly-financed mailers, at a cost to taxpayers of more than $70,000. In response, Kuykendall prominently featured his lengthy list of law enforcement supporters, an issue with proven resonance in the district. He also sought to distinguish himself from the more conservative factions of the Assembly GOP caucus, pointing up his independence on issues such as local taxation and gun control. As the end drew near, Schipske's polling was good enough that she received a significant amount of late financial support from the surprisingly liquid Assembly Democrats. In the end, the effort fell just short, as Kuykendall ended election night 908 votes ahead. While it's conceivable that absentees could turn the race around, Kuykendall was behind by 90 votes two years ago, and wound up winning by more than 500. It is difficult to parse whether Schipske's sexual orientation made a difference in her narrow loss—those whose minds it might have changed were probably in the Kuykendall camp already. One thing the race did prove, though, is the potential of tobacco as an issue—of the hundreds of thousands of dollars that Kuykendall raised and spent, not a dime of it came from the tobacco industry.

District 55 (66% D - 18% R)

Floyd (D)	**46,849**	**(75)**
Hayes (R)	16,013	(25)

Get ready to rrrrrrumble! The only thing cigar-chomping, blue-collar liberal Dick Floyd enjoys more than playing the ponies is baiting Republicans. Floyd served in the Assemby until 1992, when reapportionment forced him into a primary contest with fellow incumbent Dave Elder. The two levelled each other with nuclear ferocity, paving the way for Juanita McDonald to go to Sacramento. The seat opened up with McDonald's elevation to congress and, in an irony which no doubt pleased him, Floyd beat

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McDonald's son Keith in the primary. There's nobody left in the Assembly who remembers Floyd's past floor antics. It's safe to say everyone will know where his seat is located before too long.

District 56 (50% D - 36% R)

Havice (D)	**50,174**	**(49)**
Lambros (R)	48,233	(48)
Hays (L)	3,239	(3)

Havice

Lambros

This race could very well go down as the surprise of the year for Democrats in the Assembly, as not even the most ardent spin doctor was especially optimistic about the party's chances going in. The district has performed reliably Republican in the past few years, electing conservative Phil Hawkins two years ago and giving double-digit victory margins to both Michael Huffington in 1994 and Bruce Herschensohn in 1992. Moreover, Democrat Sally Havice, a Latina former school board president, was viewed by many as being too liberal for a district dominated by working class Republicans and Reagan Democrats. The only thing working in the Democrats' favor was the fact that the seat was open, as Hawkins opted to make an eventually unsuccessful run for state Senate. Both parties had competitive primaries, as Havice outpolled Lakewood attorney Michael Vicencia, the son of former Assemblyman Frank Vicencia. Republican Richard Lambros had a somewhat tougher time in the four-man GOP contest, weathering a late surge from Norwalk physician Daniel Wong. The youthful Lambros, a lobbyist who represents apartment owners before local boards and commissions, used those ties to seed his account with loans secured by a cadre of Orange County apartment owners. Havice laced into Lambros' landlord ties, a good issue in a blue-collar district with lots of renters. Not that Lambros was quiet. His mail attacked Havice as an out-of-touch liberal with a "wimpy" record on crime. One mailer called attention to Havice's checkered tenure as president of ABC Unified School District board. The district nearly went bankrupt during Havice's tenure on the board and control had to be assumed by the Los Angeles Department of Education. Some GOP sources privately suggest the race could have been put out of reach by the well-heeled GOP caucus had they pressed these attacks with a chunk of money in mid- to late September, when the cash-starved Havice was out of mailboxes. As it was, Havice found herself well within striking distance three weeks out, and when it became clear Assembly Democrats were going to have almost double what they'd budgeted for their campaigns, they added the 56th to the list of races to receive full funding. And then there was the overlap with Betty Karnette's well-funded state Senate race and a well-organized coordinated campaign in the cluster of competitive legislative and congressional races in the area. In the end, Havice still squeaked by with a margin of less than 2000 votes—probably large enough to hold on after absentees are counted, but not enough to avoid being targeted in two years..

District 57 (56% D - 28% R)

Gallegos (D)*	**43,375**	**(70)**
Klienpell (R)	18,536	(30)

Liberal Martin Gallegos carries perhaps the lowest profile of any member of the politically energized Latino caucus in the Legislature. With a district this favorable, he doesn't need to shout much, anyway.

District 58 (63% D - 25% R)

Napolitano (D)*	**50,702**	**(62)**
Nunez (R)	25,448	(31)
McCready (L)	6,414	(8)

For some strange reason, incumbent Grace Napolitano polled a point behind Democratic registration in this eastern Los Angeles County district. Not that she's losing any sleep over it.

District 59 (39% D - 46% R)

Decker (D)	47,976	(42)
Margett (R)*	**66,530**	**(58)**

One of the most Republican districts in Los Angeles County, this eastern San Gabriel Valley district is a safe haven for Margett.

District 60 (43% D - 41% R)

Amaya (D)	46,671	(48)
Miller (R)*	**51,097**	**(52)**

A curious result in a district that only last year recalled Paul Horcher for not being Republican enough. Incumbent Gary Miller, running in his first general election after winning the seat in the Horcher recall, manages only 52 percent of the vote against an underfunded relative unknown, Susan Amaya. Part of the reason for Miller's relatively poor showing may go back to his bitter 1994 primary battle with current Senator Richard Mountjoy. In the course of going toe-to-toe with Mountjoy, Miller's own record on the Diamond Bar city council became campaign fodder, and no doubt some of those negatives followed him into his Assembly race.

District 61 (45% D - 41% R)

Avila (D)	31,145	(41)
Aguiar (R)*	**42,107**	**(55)**
Pilch (L)	3,674	(5)

It may be hard to distinguish Republican "winners" after an election that saw the party lose control of the Assembly, but Aguiar may fit into that category. The two-term moderate, who served as speaker pro tem last year, was said to be unhappy with some pro-gun policy decisions toward the end of the 1996 legislative session, believing that they may harm Republicans at the polls. He may have been proven correct.

District 62 (57% D - 31% R)

Baca (D)*	**45,149**	**(65)**
Elssmann (R)	24,937	(36)

The election excitement in this part of San Bernardino County came from the congressional race between incumbent Democrat George Brown Jr. and Republican judge Linda Wilde. The district itself has charted a somewhat uneven course across the electoral landscape over the years, voting for Pete Wilson both in 1990 and 1994, and for Dan Lungren in 1994 but also for Lungren's opponent in 1990, for Dianne Feinstein in '94 and Barbara Boxer in '92. Bill Clinton won here nearly two-to-one in 1992. Baca himself increased his share of the vote in 1994 despite the Republican tide. This year, Republicans took a pass.

District 63 (39% D - 47% R)

Strinati (D)	44,427	(37)
Leonard (R)	**74,875**	**(63)**

Poor Bill Leonard. Termed-out of the state Senate in 1996, Leonard decided to seek a seat in the Assembly, where he is eligible for three more terms. By so doing, he took part in the Legislature's first term limits-era seat swap as Assemblyman Jim Brulte, who had held this seat since 1990, moved over to

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occupy Leonard's old Senate seat. But this past summer, when asked why he wanted to continue in the lower house, Leonard responded that he wanted to be part of a majority for the first time in his political career. And if the Democrats regained the Assembly? "Then this will be one of the stupidest things I've ever done," Leonard said. Poor Bill Leonard.

District 64 (42% D - 44% R)

Slocum (D)	38,956	(43)
Pacheco (R)	**49,240**	**(54)**
Turner (L)	3,420	(4)

Deputy District Attorney Rod Pacheco essentially won this election when he captured the primary last March — a victory that all but assured that Democrats wouldn't mount much of a challenge here. The seat was left open by the retirement of popular incumbent Republican Ted Weggeland, and Pacheco is in the Weggeland mold — moderate and pro-choice but with impeccible law-and-order credentials. A more conservative Republican may have drawn Democratic fire. Against Pacheco, however, Riverside Community College Trustee Grace Slocum attracted little money. Assembly Democrats, busy sowing landmines elsewhere, didn't even mount a diversion.

District 65 (39% D - 46% R)

Morton (D)	41,916	(39)
Granlund (R)*	**60,813**	**(57)**
Wallack (NL)	4,945	(5)

Democrats talked about making a run at rookie Republican Brett Granlund this year, but talk is cheap. Knocking off a Republican incumbent in a Republican district isn't. It requires a huge mound of cash, a wheelbarrow full of luck and a tsunami-sized Democratic tide. Unfortunately for Shirley Morton, the Democratic tide was too small and too localized — elsewhere.

District 66 (33% D - 53% R)

Hockersmith (D)	44,633	(35)
Thompson (R)*	**78,185**	**(61)**
Reed (L)	4,530	(4)

No presidential coattail in the universe would have been long enough to carry a Democrat to victory in this district.

District 67 (33% D - 51% R)

Brightman (D)	49,631	(38)
Baugh (R)*	**72,974**	**(56)**
Rowe (RF)	7,331	(6)

Incumbent rookie Scott Baugh's battles are far from over. He faces trial on a myriad of felony and misdemeanor charges stemming from his first campaign — the December 1995 election that saw former Speaker Doris Allen recalled and Baugh elected to replace her. The trial had been expected to begin before the election, but legal maneuvering — prompted when a superior court judge tossed out many of the charges and the Orange County district attorney reinstated them in municipal court — delayed the matter. The spectre of that trial didn't seem to slow Baugh's re-election, however, although his vote total was substantially below that of the last incumbent to seek another term here in a regular election — Doris Allen, who won 73 percent of the vote in 1994.

District 68 (40% D - 44% R)

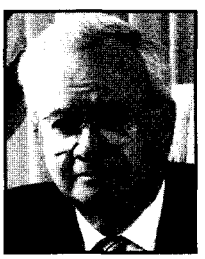
Gibson (D)	36,172	(41)
Pringle (R)*	**51,080**	**(59)**

If Curt Pringle had a theme song emerge from this election, it was an old guitar instrumental by the Surfaris: "Wipe Out." Pringle went into this election as speaker of the Assembly having to defend the 41-vote majority that gave his caucus control of the house. A majority, by the way, crafted by someone else — Assemblyman Jim Brulte. His ground operators expressed confidence throughout the campaign season that the GOP would protect its majority, and perhaps add a seat or two. But things began to go awry as October faded into November and the election loomed. First, many Republicans simply didn't bother to vote.Turnout aside, Pringle was hampered by the fact that it was not a good year to be a Republican. Several statewide polls showed late in the season that voters tended to prefer Democratic candidates. Democrats were able to take advantage of that emerging trend by spending a huge amount of money late in key races, catching Republicans flatfooted. As Pringle admitted in the aftermath, Republicans never expected Democrats to have the resources that ultimately appeared in race after critical race — money from Washington, money from trial lawyers, money from the state Democratic Party, money from individual Democratic lawmakers who spread their wealth. That allowed Pringle's foes to virtually shut out Republicans in all of the "clusters". Whatever the reasons, the election was a disaster for Pringle — personally. Not only did his operation blow opportunities in toss-up districts, it was blown away in several districts it never should have lost. Although Assembly Republicans rallied around Pringle in the aftermath of their debacle, re-electing him their leader for the coming session, his speakership may forever be demeaned as the incidental biproduct of Jim Brulte's talent.

District 69 (54% D - 33% R)

Correa (D)	23,839	(48)
Morrissey (R)*	**24,179**	**(49)**
Engwall (NL)	1,762	(4)

Correa



Morrissey

On paper, this district looks as though it ought to be fairly comfortable for a Democrat. Democrats have represented it in the past; most recently Tom Umberg, who left in 1994 to make a failed run for attorney general. And voter registration favors them by 20 points in a district where 65 percent of the population is Latino. As a result, rookie Republican Jim Morrissey, who succeeded Umberg, was thought to be vulnerable. Despite these advantages, Assembly Democrats knew that, overall, the district had not performed well for their party. Pete Wilson, Michael Huffington, Dan Lungren and Bruce Herschensohn all have carried it in statewide contests since 1990, and Morrissey himself had a surprisingly easy time in 1994. And Latinos, despite their numbers, have never been high-propensity voters in this part of Orange County. Thus, Assembly Democrats early on relegated Lou Correa's campaign to the second tier, meaning that as many as a dozen other races would receive funding priority. Ultimately, they sent him $100,000, but it came late. Short of cash for much of the campaign, Correa focused on his ground effort and on an aggressive absentee ballot program in the Latino community. But when many of those ballots failed to materialize in the mail, his campaign was forced to spend the last weekend

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walking precincts, urging Latinos to fill out their ballots and deliver them to polling places on Election Day. They enjoyed some succes, paring Morrissey's 1419-vote edge on Election Day down to 340. It didn't hurt Correa that this district overlapped the Sanchez-Doren congressional race.

District 70 (29% D - 54% R)

Palley (D)	41,624	(32)
Brewer (R)*	**80,236**	**(61)**
Reed (L)	5,706	(4)
Fisher (NL)	3,609	(3)

The rising Democratic tide failed to lift Shirley Palley.

District 71 (28% D - 57% R)

Roberts (D)	40,775	(30)
Campbell (R)	**96,663**	**(70)**

Businessman Bill Campbell — no relation to the former state senator — won this seat in the primary when he defeated four other GOP candidates, the most formidable of whom was former Orange Mayor Jim Beam. After that, it was slam dunk city.

District 72 (31% D - 54% R)

Ackerman (R)*	**94,774**	**(100)**

Most politicians only hope for incumbent rookie Dick Ackerman's situation. But is it good for democracy?

District 73 (30% D - 52% R)

Wilberg (D)	33,720	(28)
Morrow (R)*	**77,114**	**(63)**
Carter (NL)	11,797	(10)

Four-wheelin' Billy Morrow — the terror of Anza-Borrego — returns for his third and final term.

District 74 (30% D - 50% R)

Kaloogian (R)*	**68,715**	**(56)**
Webb (L)	7,509	(6)
Clayton (I)	45,808	(38)

Republicans thought they would be able to skate in this district when no Democrat filed to run against rookie incumbent Howard Kaloogian. But they didn't figure on the Clayton family. Fred Clayton ran against Kaloogian in the 1994 GOP primary, and the experience proved so bitter for Clayton that he has refused to forgive and forget. His wife, Doris, took up the gauntlet in the '96 GOP primary winning 39 percent of the vote. Fred Clayton then stepped back to the plate for the general election as an independent, hoping to build on his wife's share of the GOP vote, plus appeal to district

Kaloogian

Clayton

Democrats and independents. He seeded his campaign with $35,000, then took in additional money from a bevy of contributors — including former Democratic Assemblyman Dick Floyd, who won a return engagement in the lower house (see the 55th District). The Clayton's issue: Kaloogian's too conservative for this coastal San Diego County district. If nothing else, Clayton's challenge forced Assembly Republicans to divert resources from other races in order to help one of their own whom they thought was safe. And is Kaloogian now through with Clayton?

District 75 (30% D - 51% R)

Kwiatkowski (D)	31,537	(24)
Goldsmith (R)*	**92.793**	**(71)**
Cowling (NL)	5,739	(4)

A final term for Jan Goldsmith.

District 76 (41% D - 38% R)

Davis (D)*	**62,938**	**(54)**
Trettin (R)	51,755	(44)
Freel (PF)	3,114	(3)

Davis

Trettin

When Republican Bob Trettin lost to Susan Davis two years ago, he felt victimized by a ruse. Davis, a local school board member seeking an open seat, portrayed herself as practically a clone of Governor Pete Wilson. Although a Democrat, she promised to go up to Sacramento to help the former San Diego mayor implement his policies. Her campaign also was successful at portraying the conservative Trettin as too far to the right for this moderate district, leaving the impression that Trettin even was out of step with his party's governor. Davis eventually eked out a three-point victory in the teeth of a statewide Republican tide. This time around, with Assembly Republicans in the majority and sitting on a huge campaign larder, they made Davis one of their top targets. At the same time, Democrats put the defense of Davis on their top 10 list, and the cash war was on. The centerpiece of the GOP effort was Davis' record, which they claimed was anything *but* in tune with the desires of Pete Wilson. They called attention to her opposition to the death penalty and to Proposition 187 — the 1994 initiative aimed at illegal aliens that remains popular in border areas such as San Diego. To drive home their points, they enlisted no less an authority than Wilson himself, who campaigned for Trettin and sent out a mailer on his behalf. The governor also walked precincts and manned a phone bank. San Diego Mayor Susan Golding also hit the streets for Trettin. But the charges failed to resonate with voters as Davis was more successful at painting herself once again as an independent voice and a moderate. And Trettin found himself swimming against what emerged as a status quo, Democratic tide in 1996, as opposed to the GOP tide of change in '94. Davis also benefited from money poured into the "San Diego cluster" — four districts that featured high-profile races for Assembly, state Senate and Congress.

District 77 (38% D - 43% R)

Gastil (D)	43,510	(40)
Baldwin (R)*	**60,614**	**(56)**
Meyers (L)	4,815	(4)

Incumbent freshman Steve Baldwin coasted to victory after a tough 1994 election, where he unseated then-Democratic incumbent Tom Connolly. Unfortunately for Baldwin, he no longer will be chairman of the Assembly Education Committee. That post will go to a Democrat.

District 78 (38% D - 40% R)

Wayne (D)	**62,578**	**(49)**
Hunter (R)	57,581	(45)
Johnson (AI)	6,706	(5)

The second "clustered" Assembly district race (along with AD 76) featured Democrat Howard Wayne squaring off against Republican Tricia Hunter for the seat being vacated by Democrat Deidre Alpert, who ran for the state Senate. From the start, this was Hunter's race to

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Wayne

Hunter

lose. A former assemblywoman, Hunter enjoyed solid name recognition, a moderate voting record, a pro-choice stance on abortion and strong backing from Governor Pete Wilson and Mayor Susan Golding, both of whom campaigned on her behalf. She had all the money she needed from Assembly Republicans and from Wilson, plus the knowledge that the district itself had a long history of electing women to public office. In addition, she was coming off an impressive primary victory against a pair of better known men. Her opponent, by contrast, was a political unknown who began the campaign by endorsing Proposition 209, the California Civil Rights Initiative, thus angering many of his own party's activists. Wayne's problem was twofold: raise his own identity and tear down Hunter's reputation. He succeeded at both. According to his campaign, tracking polls showed that Hunter's share of the vote solidified more than two months before the election, while Wayne's depended on his building name recognition. As the campaign heated up, he closed what had been a sizable gap. A deputy attorney general, Wayne touted his law-and-order credentials, which the Hunter campaign attacked as unimpressive. It also went after Wayne's opposition to the three-strikes law and to Proposition 187. But the heavier attacks fell on Hunter. She was savaged as an ally of the tobacco industry because she accepted contributions from tobacco companies and because she once had cast a vote against a bill to tax tobacco products in order to pay for breast-cancer research. Worse, the attacks were financed by the California Nurses' Association, an organization to which Hunter once belonged and which previously had backed her politically. Hunter also was blindsided from the right by American Independent candidate Nathan Johnson, a pro-life activist who had a sizeable campaign treasury and appealed to pro-life Republicans to reject Hunter. In the end, he siphoned off nearly 7000 votes — votes Hunter could ill afford to lose in a close election. Wayne also may have been helped by his endorsement of the CCRI, which passed handily in San Diego County. In the final analysis, Hunter — like Bob Trettin in AD 76 and Joe Dolphin in SD 39 — succumbed to the "R" factor: She was a Republican in a year which very much favored Democrats.

District 79 (53% D - 26% R)

Ducheny (D)*	**43,736**	**(72)**
Divine (R)	17,199	(28)

The quiet corner of San Diego.

District 80 (46% D - 40% R)

Clute (D)	40,740	(41)
Battin (R)*	**55,200**	**(56)**
Borchert (NL)	2,548	(3)

Former Democratic Assemblyman Steve Clute did quite well for himself. He had little money until a small influx of cash toward the end of the campaign, but he still managed to pull 40 percent of the vote against rookie incumbent Jim Battin. Of course, Battin did much better, running 16 points ahead of GOP registration while winning a second term in Sacramento.

The New Assembly

Third term (1998) *(16 members: 8 D; 8 R)*	**AD**	**P**
Aguiar	61	R
Alby	5	R
Baca	62	D
Bowen	53	D
Bowler	10	R
Brown	7	D
Bustamante	31	D
Caldera	46	D
Escutia	50	D
Goldsmith	75	R
Martinez	49	D
Morrow	73	R
Napolitano	58	D
Pringle	68	R
Richter	3	R
Takasugi	37	R

Second term (2000) *(30 members: 11 D; 19 R)*	**AD**	**P**
Ackerman	72	R
Baldwin	77	R
Battin	80	R
Bordonaro	33	R
Brewer	70	R
Cunneen	24	R
Davis	76	D
Ducheny	79	D
Figueroa	20	D
Firestone	35	R
Frusetta	28	R
Gallegos	57	D
Granlund	65	R
House	25	R
Kaloogian	74	R
Knox	42	D
Kuehl	41	D
Kuykendall	54	R
Machado	17	D
Margett	59	R
Mazzoni	6	D
Miller	60	R
Morrissey	69	R
Murray	47	D
Olberg	34	R
Poochigian	29	R
Sweeney	18	D
B.Thompson	66	R
Villaraigosa	45	D
Woods	2	R

Rookies (2002) *(34 members: 25 D; 9 R)*	**AD**	**P**
Alquist	22	D
Aroner	14	D
Ashburn	32	R
Baugh	67	R
Campbell	71	R
Cardenas	39	D
Cardoza	26	D
Floyd*	55	D
Havice	56	D
Hertzberg	40	D
Honda	23	D
Keeley	27	D
Leach	15	R
Lempert*	21	D
Leonard*	63	R
McClintock*	38	R
Migden	13	D
Oller	4	R
Ortiz	9	D
Pacheco	64	R
Papan*	19	D
Perata	16	D
Prenter	30	D
Runner	36	R
Scott	44	D
Shelley	12	D
Strom-Martin	1	D
Thomson	8	D
Torlakson	11	D
Vincent	51	D
Washington	52	D
Wayne	78	D
Wildman	43	D
Wright	44	D

** Former members returning as rookies*

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